

ATTIC LETTER-CUTTERS OF 300 TO 229 B.C.

ATHENS
AND
MACEDON



STEPHEN V. TRACY

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Athens and Macedon

Attic Letter-Cutters of 300 to 229 B.C.

STEPHEN V. TRACY

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Abbreviations

Journals are abbreviated according to the list published by the *American Journal of Archaeology*; the most recent version is available online at <http://www.ajaonline.org/shared/s_info_contrib.html>.

² (in lists)	IG II ²
II ²	IG II ²
ADT	S. V. Tracy, <i>Athenian Democracy in Transition: Attic Letter-Cutters of 340 to 290 B.C.</i> , Berkeley 1995
Agora XV	B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, <i>Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors</i> , The Athenian Agora XV, Princeton 1974
Agora XVI	A. G. Woodhead, <i>Inscriptions: The Decrees</i> , The Athenian Agora XVI, Princeton 1997
Agora XIX	G. V. Lalonde, M. K. Langdon, and M. B. Walbank, <i>Inscriptions: Horoi, Poletae Records, Leases of Public Lands</i> , The Athenian Agora XIX, Princeton 1991
ALC	S. V. Tracy, <i>Attic Letter-Cutters of 229 to 86 B.C.</i> , Berkeley 1990
Bielman, <i>Retour</i>	A. Bielman, <i>Retour à la liberté: Libération et sauvetage des prisonniers en Grèce ancienne: Recueil d'inscriptions honorant des sauveteurs et analyse critique</i> , Athens and Lausanne 1994

- Bringmann, *Schenkungen* K. Bringmann and H. von Steuben, *Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an griechische Städte und Heiligtümer* I, Berlin 1995
- Bull. ép.* J. and L. Robert et al., *Bulletin épigraphique* (in REG)
- Clinton, *Eleusis* K. M. Clinton, *Eleusis: The Inscriptions on Stone* [provisional title; forthcoming, Athens]
- Dreyer B. Dreyer, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des spätklassischen Athen (322–ca. 230 v. Chr.)*, *Historia Einzelschriften* 137, Stuttgart 1999
- EM Epigraphical Museum, part of the National Museum in Athens
- FGrH* F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* I–III, Berlin 1923–1958
- Habicht, *Athens* Ch. Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Antony*, Cambridge, Mass., 1997
- Habicht, *Studien* Ch. Habicht, *Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit*, *Hypomnemata* 73, Göttingen 1982
- Habicht, *Untersuchungen* Ch. Habicht, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, *Vestigia* 30, Munich 1979
- I (in lists) Agora I
- Kirchner-Klaffenbach, *Imagines*² J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*, 2d ed. G. Klaffenbach, Berlin 1948
- LGNP II M. J. Osborne and S. G. Byrne, eds., *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* II, Attica, Oxford 1994
- Moretti, *ISE* L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche* I–II, Florence 1967, 1975
- Osborne, *Naturalization* M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens* I–IV, Brussels 1981–1983
- Peçirka, *Enktesis* J. Peçirka, *The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis in Attic Inscriptions*, Prague 1966

- Petrakos, *Rhamnous II* B. Ch. Petrakos, *ὁ Δῆμος τοῦ ‘Ραμ-
νοῦντος II. οἱ Ἐπιγραφές*, Athens 1999
- Pritchett-Meritt, *Chronology* W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *The
Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, Cam-
bridge, Mass., 1940
- REG *Revue des études Grecques*
- Schmitt, *Staatsverträge* H. H. Schmitt, *Die Staatsverträge des Al-
tertums III*, Munich 1969
- Sokolowski, *LSCG* F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grec-
ques*, Paris 1969

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Preface

The present study focuses on the inscriptions of third-century B.C. Athens; the research in preparation for it, in fact, concentrated on the years 290 to 229. However, it became apparent as the work progressed that it was necessary to revisit briefly the cutters published in *ADT* who had worked into the third century, namely the Cutters of *IG* II² 1262, of II² 650, and of *Agora* I 4266.¹ This was inevitable; the choice of the year 290 B.C. as a starting point for the present research was merely a convenience. In actuality, that year marked no clear break.² In the course of this study, moreover, I have identified three more cutters who began work in the last years of the fourth century: the Cutters of *IG* II² 478, of II² 657, and of II² 689. The present volume thus overlaps with and continues *ADT*; in retrospect, I realize that it could not have been otherwise.

A return to the third century also had to involve restudy of the two major cutters whom I had published in 1988 in *Hesperia*.³ At that time, I naively believed that those dossiers were all but complete. The present research, indeed, has shown just how dominant they were and has enabled me to assign to each of them with confidence a number of additional inscriptions. Someone might wish to query why this happens. This is a legit-

1. See below 38–55.

2. The eight years of Demetrios Poliorketes' second period of control of Athens, 295/4 to 288/7 B.C., were not marked by great inscribing activity, but there was no break or cessation. When independence was regained in the spring of 287, greater activity ensued. Roughly half a dozen decrees can certainly be assigned to the eight years under Demetrios, namely *IG* II² 646, 647, 649; *Agora* XVI nos. 167, 169, 170. Three times that many come from the subsequent eight years, namely *IG* II² 650–660, *Agora* XV nos. 71–72, and XVI nos. 172, 179–182.

3. "Two Attic Letter Cutters of the Third Century: 286/5–235/4 B.C.," *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 303–322.

imate question. Some are new inscriptions, that is, newly discovered or recently published. (Thankfully, new inscriptions do turn up with regularity.) Moreover, there are so many inscriptions from Attica that no matter how diligently one searches them out, one cannot see them all. Many of the additions noted here are, in fact, inscriptions to which I have been able to gain access only recently. Completeness in an undertaking such as the present one is an ideal that can only be approximated.

In addition, for every cutter I have studied, there inevitably remains a residue of inscriptions about which I have some doubt. My policy in such cases is one of deliberate caution. Such inscriptions remain in my notes, but they do not go into the published dossier of the cutter's work.⁴ Repeated study of the inscriptions of the third century has now given me enough familiarity with the entire range of cutting at the time that I can assign with confidence at least some of these doubtful examples to cutters previously studied. In the interests of achieving some measure of completeness, I have also added a list of inscriptions "in the style of" in the case of the two major cutters, the Agora I 3238 Cutter and the IG II² 788 Cutter.

I have stated my method and criteria elsewhere.⁵ The study of hands on inscriptions remains controversial in some quarters and its inherent difficulties are not well understood. The inevitable subjectivity of stylistic attribution certainly causes discomfort to those of us—that is, most epigraphers and historians—who like to think that we deal only with hard evidence. Subjectivity cannot be avoided, but it can be ameliorated by the availability of good visual evidence. Then too, others have not been able to achieve the same or similar results. This fact rightly gives pause to thoughtful persons. What needs to be realized is that others could achieve similar results, if they devoted themselves to the study full-time. The study

4. The exception I made to this policy was in *ALC* where I created, in the desire to be complete, a category "in the style of" (for a definition, see *ALC* 6). Though I still think this is a useful category, it does invite one to allow variation, which can be dangerous in stylistic attribution. It led me in two cases to place in the dossier of the Agora I 787 Cutter (*ALC* 41–43) inscriptions that I now know to be the work of others. The texts in question are IG II² 735 and Agora I 1679; the latter is the work of the II² 788 Cutter and the former of the Cutter of IG II² 776.

5. See "Identifying Epigraphical Hands," *GRBS* 11 (1970) 321–328; *The Lettering of an Athenian Mason*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 15 (Princeton 1975) 1–11, 90–95; *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on His Eightieth Birthday*, Greek, Roman and Byzantine Monograph 10 (1984) 277–279; "Hands in Samian Inscriptions of the Hellenistic Period," *Chiron* 20 (1990) 60; *ALC* 2–4; "Hands in Greek Epigraphy—Demetrios of Phaleron," in *Boeotia Antiqua* IV, ed. J. M. Fossey (Amsterdam 1994) 151–161; and an essay for a nonspecialist audience, "Dating Athenian Inscriptions: A New Approach," *PAPS* 144 (2000) 67–76.

of hands cannot be a *parergon*, something done on the side to provide an additional bit of information. Complete study of any given cutter requires literally years of work. Learning the hand in the first place is a task that takes months of concentrated study of the lettering. The search for other examples of the writing is likewise a very long and difficult process. Above all, it requires access to all of the inscriptions. To achieve this, as anyone knows who works in the field rather than in some library, is virtually impossible. These factors, namely the need to devote oneself full-time to the study, the difficulty of access to the primary evidence, and finally the length of time required to study even one cutter properly, militate against anyone undertaking it, even the most tenacious. In the present academic climate, it is certainly not a line of inquiry that one can recommend to young scholars.

Allow me to add a few further background comments on this fundamental problem of access to the evidence. In the early years of my work, I was able, through the intervention of Eugene Vanderpool, professor of archaeology at the American School of Classical Studies, to see the great majority of inscriptions stored in the museums and storerooms in Attica. I needed to see them all in my search for other examples of the lettering that I was studying. I had (and have) no way of knowing in advance which inscriptions were cut by the workmen in question. That, after all, is what I am trying to establish. I needed to browse the shelves, as it were. Subsequently the rules governing study permits in Greece have evolved so that requests to see all of a certain class of artifact are not granted. This change, while understandable, has greatly hampered my work on hands. I rely on published photographs⁶ and on gaining access to various squeeze collections to pursue this work. Indeed, without the generous support of the School of Historical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton and the magnificent squeeze collection housed there, little could have been accomplished.

The major purpose of the present effort, to recapitulate, is to fill in the sixty-plus-year gap between my two previous studies. In *ALC* I studied the inscribers of the period from 229 to 86 B.C., while *ADT* was devoted to

6. There exists no published photograph of the majority of inscriptions. Moreover, many that do exist do not show the lettering clearly enough to be useful for my purposes. For example, I suspected that Acropolis inv. no. 13371 (*Hesperia* 52 [1983] 48–63) was the work of the II² 788 Cutter, but the otherwise excellent photograph published in *Hesperia* was not sufficiently detailed to allow a determination. I was only recently able to arrange to see the inscription and at once recognized his unmistakable handwriting.

those of the years 340 to 290. I present the cutters of this study roughly in chronological order. In addition to a description of the lettering, a list of inscriptions with up-to-date references, initial publication of a few fragments from the Athenian Agora, and notes on readings, I have added a short section at the end of each entry on that cutter's habits of inscribing. The results, the trends in letter-cutting and the careers of the cutters, are brought together in a final section.

I have taken some pains to illustrate this volume well. Good photographs provide the primary visual evidence to support attributions. In a work of this kind, it is naturally impossible to illustrate every inscription.⁷ I have, therefore, sought to refer the reader to good published photographs of the pieces under discussion, if they exist. In choosing which inscriptions to illustrate in this study, my aims have been twofold: namely, to give a representative selection of each inscriber's texts and to illustrate those for which there is no easily accessible good photograph. Finally, I hardly need add that this is in no sense a history of the period;⁸ I hope, however, that it will be useful to those needing to consult inscriptions in order to study Athens during the troubled years of the third century B.C.

During the preparation of this book, I have had the opportunity to present parts of it to various audiences. I discussed in very preliminary fashion the date of the Athenian archon Aristion (38–45 below) at classics gatherings at Brown University in 1997, at the University of Texas at Austin in 1998, and at Indiana University in 1999. I also made brief mention of the redating of Aristion in my presentation of April 1998 to the American Philosophical Society (see *PAPS* 144 [2000] 73–74). A fully argued account, necessarily differing from the printed version below, was presented for the first time at an international colloquium in Hamburg on 19 May 2001 in honor of Christian Habicht on his seventy-fifth birthday. In addition, under the title “Two Joins by A. Wilhelm: *IG*² 729 + 442 and *IG* II² 768 + 802,” in November 2000 at a conference in memory of Adolf Wilhelm in Athens, I gave the substance of pages 134–141 below. That con-

7. Fortunately, inscriptions published in *Hesperia* are normally accompanied by photographs. Their quality varies but most are legible. I have not systematically given references to them, but they should be consulted and the lettering compared with the illustrations I provide.

8. See Ch. Habicht, *Athen: Die Geschichte der Stadt in hellenistischer Zeit* (Munich 1995) 88–175, for an up-to-date history that makes full use of epigraphical and other primary sources. This work has now appeared from Harvard University Press in an English translation by D. L. Schneider entitled *Athens from Alexander to Antony* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997); the relevant pages are 91 to 172.

ference was sponsored by the Austrian Archaeological Institute at Athens and by the Greek Epigraphical Society. I wish to express my gratitude to the institutions and organizers for the fine hospitality I enjoyed on each of these occasions.

My debts are great. I must again, and with pleasure, thank John Camp, director of the American Excavations in the Athenian Agora, and his staff in the Stoa of Attalos for much help. Charalambos Kritzas, director of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, and his staff have been most generous in putting at my disposal inscriptions that I needed to study. Most of the actual work was accomplished in the incomparable atmosphere of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. Christian Habicht, Glen Bowersock, and most recently Heinrich von Staden have been wonderful hosts and genial companions during these researches. In addition, I have benefited at various times and in various places from the help of many individuals. I can name here but a few, chief among them Christian Habicht, Kevin Clinton, John Morgan, George Steinhauer, and Angelos Matthaiou. My wife June and son Ben have patiently endured, and sometimes shared, my travels in pursuit of hands. Their understanding and loving support have sustained me. On me alone lies the responsibility for what is contained in the following pages.

Princeton, New Jersey, May 2002

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Introduction

THE THIRD CENTURY AND PROBLEMS OF CHRONOLOGY

Efforts to establish the Athenian archon list of the third century B.C. continue and progress is being made. More will be possible when all relevant texts now known are published. The recent publication of a fragment containing the name of a new Athenian archon, [A]mbrosios, who must date between the years 290 and 250;¹ the discovery that Aristion must be moved from the 230s to about 290 (38–45 below); the addition of Mneseides to the list of those who served in the 230s;² and the reported downward dating of Athenodoros by more than a decade reveal the continuing state of uncertainty and flux in the list of this period. Over the past twenty-two years, Ch. Habicht, B.D. Meritt, M.J. Osborne, and G. Steinhauer have discussed, sometimes at great length, the dating of archons and have offered lists, particularly for the very difficult period from the year 260 to about 235.³

Osborne has made a strong case that the secretary cycle was not in op-

1. G. Steinhauer, "Demendekrete und ein neuer Archon des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. aus dem Aphrodision von Halai Aixonides," *AM* 113 (1998 [2001]) 238–248. Steinhauer dates the new archon Ambrosios on prosopographical grounds to the year 290/89. I doubt the precise year; see 45 below.

2. Petrakos, *Rhamnous* II no. 20. Cf. *SEG* 41 no. 87.

3. Habicht, *Untersuchungen* 128–146; Meritt, "Mid-Third-Century Athenian Archons," *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 78–99, esp. 94–96; Osborne, "The Chronology of Athens in the Mid Third Century B.C.," *ZPE* 78 (1989) 209–242, esp. 241; Osborne, "Philinos and the Athenian Archons of the 250s B.C.," in *Polis and Politics: Studies in Ancient Greek History Presented to M. H. Hansen*, ed. P. Flensted-Jensen, T. H. Nielsen, and L. Rubinstein (Copenhagen 2000) 507–520; Steinhauer, "Νεότερα στοιχεία για τὸν σαλαμίνιο θίασο τῆς Βενδίδος," *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς* 1993 (1995) 31–47, esp. 47.

eration for much of the 250s and 240s.⁴ He may be correct. As I observed years ago, "At the least, the cycles in this period are less regular than presently constituted lists presume."⁵ One of my purposes in concentrating on the third century was to help if possible with the chronological problems that plague it. Unfortunately, except for the discovery concerning Aristion, I can add little. The careers of the cutters of this study do not fall out in such a way as to provide significant guidance. Careers generally make sense; that is to say, there is for most cutters a "clustering effect" in the dates of the texts they inscribed. That fact is in itself encouraging. The one exception is the very prolific Cutter of Agora I 3238. With a date for the archon Athenodoros around 239/8,⁶ we now have a career for him that began in the ninth prytany of the year 286/5⁷ and lasted until the twelfth prytany of Athenodoros' year,⁸ a span of forty-seven years or more. While not impossible, this begins to strain credulity.

Cutters did learn by an apprentice system and presumably began to work by doing odd jobs in the shop at a very tender age. Some, undoubtedly, would have learned to cut letters well enough to become full-fledged inscribers of decrees by the age of fourteen or fifteen.⁹ In that case, a career of fifty years would find them in their mid-sixties. In short, a span of forty-seven years for the working career of this cutter is not at all impossible, although it is certainly exceptional.¹⁰ But then we already knew from previous study that he was exceptionally productive and had a career lasting more than forty years.¹¹ We must now, if the dates are correct, have nearly his earliest and latest pieces of work; furthermore, we do have a technical

4. Osborne, "The Chronology of Athens in the Mid Third Century B.C."

5. I see no reason to alter this statement, which summarized my view of the problem in 1988 ("Two Attic Letter Cutters of the Third Century: 286/5–235/4 B.C.," *Hesperia* 57 [1988] 322).

6. Steinhauer, "*Νεότερα στοιχεία*" 47, places him without discussion in 238/7 and indicates the date as certain.

7. IG II² 662 and Agora I 6560 = Osborne, *Naturalization* no. D74A = *Agora XVI* no. 172.

8. IG II² 784.

9. A. Burford, *Craftsmen in Greek and Roman Society* (Ithaca 1972) 88–90, calls attention to teenagers and some even younger who are described as master craftsmen.

10. On this point see also my "Athenian Letter-Cutters and Lettering on Stone in Vth to Ist Centuries B.C." in *Greek Letters: From Tablets to Pixels*, ed. M. S. Macrakis (New Castle, Del., 1996), 43–53, esp. 53. For long careers in a far more dangerous line of work, see E. Birley's list of centurions who served forty to sixty-one years (*The Roman Army: Papers, 1929–1986* [Amsterdam 1988] 219–220).

11. See the account of his work in my "Two Attic Letter Cutters" 304–311.

reason (96 below) to think that the earliest inscription we have from his hand, IG II² 662 of 285 B.C., was indeed one of his first efforts. I do not think then that this long career necessarily means that the dates of either the archon Diokles (286/5) or of Athenodoros (*ca.* 239/8) are more than usually suspect.

To return to the archon list—progress has been made. The process is a slow one and dependent ultimately on the discovery of more evidence for many of these archons. Until that happens, we must admit that the precise dates of many in the years covered by this study remain uncertain. In the lists that follow, I give dates for archons in many cases with some hesitancy. Unless indicated otherwise, the dates for the archons of 307/6 to 262/1 are those of B. D. Meritt in "Athenian Archons 347/6–48/7 B.C.," *Historia* 26 (1977) 161–191. There is no well-established list for the years 261/0 to 234/3.¹²

INSCRIBING HABITS

The third century was a time of transition for the lettering of Attic decrees. The texts of honorary decrees passed by the Athenian assembly generally became longer, beginning early in the century. Techniques that had been employed earlier to inscribe short decrees of, say, 1,200 letters were not always well suited to measures that had thrice as many letters or more. It is also apparent that costs and promptness of publication played a role affecting the way in which inscriptions were engraved. The most obvious indicator of change is the use/non-use of the *stoichedon* arrangement for the lettering of decrees.¹³ It gradually went out of fashion and rarely occurs after the year 229 B.C.; indeed, the present study clearly reveals that most cutters had given it up by midcentury.

The assemblage of the oeuvre of individuals offers the precious opportunity to study habits of inscribing. After the presentation of the hands and assemblage of the dossiers of the inscriptions cut by each, the present study focuses further on trends of letter cutting during this period of transition. Some of the items considered are syllabification and the treatment of iota.

12. Consult Appendix One for the list that I have used.

13. This is the placement of the letters on the stone precisely under one another in vertical columns; measures cut in this style have a very orderly, often even elegant, appearance. R. P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions* (Oxford 1938), is the classic study.

In the case of the latter, some cutters at least found it awkward to allot an entire letter-space (*stoichos*) to this thinnest of all letters all the time, though a strictly *stoichedon* pattern requires it. A *stoichedon* arrangement also takes no account of word division from one line to the next. Divisions occur where they fall out, so that one not infrequently encounters word divisions from one line to the next such as κ|αί or τ|ό. In the following discussion, I term these single letters from a word isolated at line-initial or line-final position “widows.” Cutters handled these matters in a variety of ways, but there clearly was a general tendency toward syllabification as the century progressed. They also quite frequently made use of blank spaces to give visual emphasis, particularly to set off numerals. In addition, they employed blank spaces to highlight personal names.¹⁴

Some cutters occasionally utilized the “perfect design.”¹⁵ This is the arrangement by which the matter in the preamble—namely, the archon date, tribe in prytany, secretary, month date, and details of meeting place and chairman—is separated from the proposal proper by the clause of ratification. This is the clause, really a sentence, that we translate “It was ratified by the council and the people,” in Greek ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ. The name of the orator who proposed the measure that is being inscribed invariably follows this sentence. By placing the ἔδοξεν-clause in a line by itself with blank space before and after, an inscriber could mark off both the routine preliminary information of the preamble which came before it and the orator’s name which came after it. The orator was further emphasized in this scheme by appearing first in the line at the beginning of the body of the decree that he proposed. The perfect design thus very efficiently blocked out these three essential items—namely, preliminaries of date and meeting, clause of ratification, and speaker/opening of decree—that began every decree of the city.

The perfect design, however, could be prodigal of space if the line before the clause of ratification had just a few letters in it. When this was the case, a cutter might not devote a separate line to the clause but might place it, with spaces before and after, in the line that otherwise would have been mostly blank. This arrangement may be termed the “modified perfect de-

14. For a general essay on a number of these matters, including *stoichedon*, syllabification, crowding in of letters, and use of spaces, see M. J. Osborne, “The Stoichedon Style in Theory and Practice,” *ZPE* 10 (1973) 249–270.

15. First named and described by S. Dow in “New Kinds of Evidence for Dating Polyekutos,” *AJA* 40 (1936) 62–65.

sign." It still resulted in the articulation desired and, above all, placed the orator in first position in his own line. The Cutter of IG II² 788 (see below) extensively employed the perfect design or the modified version beginning about the year 250; others also used it sparingly (see below 144–146).

Lastly, all inscribers gave some thought to layout. They had to, even if it was only to cast a practiced eye at the copy of the measure provided to them by the secretary of the assembly in order to decide what size block was required. All drew horizontal lines with graphite or chalk or some other impermanent substance as a guide to placing the letters,¹⁶ and, if the text was to be *stoichedon*, they also laid out vertical lines—that is, created a pattern of squares on the surface to be inscribed. It is clear, however, just as was the case for the IG II² 1028 Cutter of 100 B.C., that they never did a complete layout in advance of inscribing.¹⁷ These cutters were experienced draftsmen who solved the particular problems that arose as they inscribed.

For the most part, the decisions concerning the type of marble to be used, the size of the lettering, the spacing, placement of the letters, blank spaces, use of the perfect design, and so on must have been left to the discretion of the letter-cutters. Neither the persons honored nor the secretaries of the assembly are likely to have had a hand in determining such details of inscribing. It is possible, of course, on occasion that a preference for one color marble as opposed to another might have been expressed by the person ordering the work, perhaps influencing the choice of stone in some instances.¹⁸ Moreover, in the period of renewed democracy after the ouster of Demetrios of Phaleron in the year 307, speakers' names are emphasized on inscribed decrees by spaces or line-initial position with an unusually high frequency. This appears to be statistically meaningful and is evidence that workmen were influenced, in this case for political reasons, to give the names of the orators prominence (below 145–146). How this was accomplished we cannot know in detail. Probably, the secretary or one of his

16. Incised guidelines are quite rare in inscriptions from Attica.

17. S. V. Tracy, *The Lettering of an Athenian Mason*, Hesperia Suppl. 15 (Princeton 1975), 115–120. See also on this cutter ALC 181–186.

18. I can cite no example and I am not sure how, or if, we could know that it happened. Some workmen seem to have a decided preference for one marble rather than another. The Cutter of Agora I 6664, discussed in this volume, inscribed most of his texts on gray marble (below 111), whereas the Cutter of IG II² 337 used mostly white marble (ADT 116). I am assuming that this difference reflects personal preference, but it must be admitted that there are many factors we know nothing about. Perhaps the quarry or supplier that the cutter dealt with had mainly one type of marble for stelai.

emissaries let the wishes of the speakers be known. Specific pressures of this kind must have been very exceptional, however.

Cutters developed their own habits of inscribing. At the same time, it is probable, given that there were potters' quarters and metalworkers' quarters, that inscribers of decrees too worked in fairly close proximity to one another and knew one another's work. They did not work in a vacuum and there are definite trends of inscribing that are explored in the following pages. Most cutters, for example, had abandoned the *stoichedon* arrangement by the year 250. At the same time, as the final chapter of this book will show, the two most successful cutters of the period here studied did not simply follow prevailing practice; they were innovators.

PART I

Athenian Government and
the Macedonian Kings

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Oligarchy versus Democracy

338 to 262 B.C.

It is often adjudged—correctly, it appears to me—that the end of Athenian, indeed of Greek, liberty occurred when Philip of Macedon defeated the Athenians and their allies at the battle of Chaironeia in 338 B.C. In fact the Athenian leader Lykourgos speaking in the summer of 330 B.C. claimed: τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς δουλείαν μετέπεσεν συνετάφη γὰρ τοῖς τούτων σώμασιν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερία (the affairs of Greece had fallen into slavery, for the freedom of the other Greeks was entombed alongside the bodies of the Athenians who fell at Chaironeia).¹ Moreover, it has been the fashion to see the death of Demosthenes eight years later in early autumn of the year 322 as marking the end of Athenian democracy.² That of course is a romantic view fueled by modern conceptions of what it means to be free and democratic and also by an exaggerated notion of Demosthenes' political importance.

Athenian history from the year 338 down to the year 229 B.C.—the latter year marking the ouster of the Macedonian presence from Attica—is usually seen as a complex political tapestry in which periods of democratic rule fitfully sputtered amid long periods of oligarchic rule under Macedonian hegemony. Without going into detail, the years 321 to 307, 295 to 287, and 262 to 229 are held to be largely oligarchic periods, with democratic rule in the intervening years.

Is this picture accurate? To what extent was the democratic government curtailed during these oligarchic periods? Are they in fact really oligarchic?

1. In *Leocratem* 50.

2. R. K. Sinclair, *Democracy and Participation in Athens* (Cambridge 1988) 22; M. H. Hansen, *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes*, 2d ed. (Norman, Okla., 1999) 21–22.

Can we determine that status? How do we define oligarchy and democracy? For the purposes of the present argument, the presence or absence of four crucial items, what may be termed the cornerstones of Athenian democracy, seems critical. The first two are sortition of offices (i.e., the practice of choosing offices by a lottery process) and annual terms for office holders with no iteration allowed (i.e., the practice of holding an office once and once only); together with tribal rotation, these assured wide citizen participation in the governing process.³ Third is the existence of citizen bodies charged with meaningful powers. There were two such bodies in Athens: the assembly open to all male citizens that met, roughly speaking, four times a month and the council or *boule* that met almost daily and was composed, depending on the period, of five or six hundred citizens thirty years of age or older, chosen by lot. Finally, Athens had an extensive court system open to all citizens thirty years of age and older. As long as these four elements can be observed to be functioning, then it is appropriate to argue that the Athenian people exercised direct power of a magnitude sufficient to describe the government as democratic. If one or more is absent, then oligarchy would appear to be the appropriate label.

The complex period following Athens' defeat by the Macedonians in the Lamian War provides an excellent test case because no one denies its essentially oligarchic (i.e., undemocratic) character. In the aftermath of their decisive defeat in the battle at Krannon (early August 322 B.C.), the Athenians attempted to negotiate a settlement with Antipater and Krateros, the victorious Macedonian generals.⁴ Given the military situation, they had to accept harsh terms. The Macedonians imposed a garrison on the city and demanded that certain leaders who had opposed them be condemned, among them Demosthenes, Hypereides, and others who are usually styled radical democrats.⁵ (It is more accurate to call them openly anti-Macedonian.) Finally, the Macedonians certainly sanctioned, if they did not actually put in power, leaders with an oligarchic bent.

The nature of the evidence and the problem can be illustrated by a description of the situation from an outdated, but still influential, account:

3. At the close of the nineteenth century, W. S. Ferguson (*The Athenian Secretaries*, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology VII [Ithaca 1898] 34–35, 44–63) discovered that the tribes of Athens had an official order according to which various officials of the state were supplied by tribal rotation. Thus if a certain official was chosen from tribe one in one year, that position would be filled from tribe two in the next and so on.

4. See ADT 23–29 for a summary of the events of this war.

5. Plutarch *Demosthenes* 28.2.

the new constitution probably did not come into force till 321. The franchise was restricted to those who had 2,000 drachmae, *i.e.* to the three classes liable to hoplite service; this reduced the citizen body to 9,000, a narrow oligarchy of wealth, and disfranchised 22,000. It was treated as a return to Solon's constitution. The jury courts were emptied, and surpluses were no longer distributed, there being no poor citizens. There were not indeed citizens enough to fill all the offices, and many were abolished; rotation by tribes ceased, and probably election by lot also. The *astynomoi* and the eleven vanished, their duties being transferred to the *agoranomoi* and the Areopagus respectively; possibly too the financial boards, the *apodectae* and the theoric commissioners, were abolished, and only the military steward retained, but there is really nothing to show how finance was administered.⁶

The picture is one of sweeping constitutional changes. Not a footnote is offered;⁷ nearly everything stated is claimed as fact. W. S. Ferguson had offered twenty-two years earlier essentially the same picture, though at much greater length and with notes.⁸

If this description is accurate, democracy was indeed abolished in Athens during the year 321 B.C. But there is little real evidence to go on. There is, for example, no proof that election by lot was abolished or that tribal rotation was abandoned for most offices. Surviving inscriptions reveal that the assembly and the *boule* continued to meet regularly. There is no hard evidence about the courts. The statement that the duties of the *astynomoi* were handed over to the *agoranomoi* is based on one inscription from Piraeus, *IG* II² 380, which may refer to an ad hoc arrangement in Piraeus and not to any sweeping constitutional change. It is true of the years 321 to 319 that an official known as the *anagrapheus* (the registrar) rose to prominence in inscriptions and that the office of secretary, formerly annual, became monthly.⁹

Although there clearly were some significant changes, much of the democratic machinery probably remained in place, including three of the four items listed above as crucial to Athenian democracy, namely sortition, the existence of citizen bodies with meaningful powers, and the courts. Nonetheless, this regime should be judged undemocratic because it se-

6. W. W. Tarn in *The Cambridge Ancient History* VI (Cambridge 1933) 459–460.

7. The major ancient sources, aside from the inscriptions, are Diodoros (18.18.4–5) and Plutarch's life of Phokion.

8. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London 1911) 22–26.

9. S. Dow, "The Athenian Anagrapheis," *HSCP* 67 (1963) 37–54.

verely restricted the numbers who had access to the governing process and, in consequence, it doubtless had to modify the restriction against repeated office holding. Clearly Ferguson and Tarn were led by this fact to exaggerate the degree to which other constitutional changes were made.

The years 317 to 307, when Demetrios of Phaleron held power, have been treated elsewhere in my writings and need not be considered again here.¹⁰ It is my view that Demetrios' so-called oligarchic regime was less undemocratic than the self-styled democracy that followed it. Moreover, in none of the so-called oligarchic periods prior to Antigonos Gonatas' assumption of control of Athens in the year 262 is there strong evidence to prove the abandonment of the democratic machinery. It must be admitted, however, that the evidence is thin and mostly from inscriptions. The assembly and council were apparently always active. The annual officials of the state, the nine archons, were chosen each year, almost certainly by lot. The courts continued to meet. But what is very difficult—in fact, probably impossible—to gauge is the political climate at any given time. The presence of a Macedonian garrison in Piraeus and for some years also on Mousion Hill in the city could have been very repressive of the exercise of real democracy, even if its outward forms remained in place. In the absence of extensive testimony from contemporary witnesses, there seems no way to judge this. All we can do is assess the degree to which the external indicators of democracy continued to exist.

There are two short periods prior to the Chremonidean War when the leaders did certainly tamper with the democratic machinery. One is the oligarchic period of 321 to 319 just described. The other also lasted three years, from 294/3 to 292/1. This was a period when the former "liberator and champion of democracy," King Demetrios Poliorketes, regained control of Athens. For the first two years a man named Olympiodoros held the archonship;¹¹ surely he was imposed on the Athenians by the king. The enormity of this action may be gauged by noting that this is the only known example of an individual holding the archonship more than once

10. ADT 21, 36–51; "Demetrius of Phalerum: Who Was He and Who Was He Not?" in *Demetrius of Phalerum: Text, Translation, and Discussion*, ed. W. W. Fortenbaugh and E. Schütrumpf (New Brunswick, N.J., 2000) 331–354. See also on Demetrios' years P. J. Rhodes, *The Decrees of the Greek States* (Oxford 1997) 41–42.

11. IG II² 389 in the edition of W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931) 21; for some improvements in readings, see S. Dow, *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 346–347. For further epigraphical evidence for Olympiodoros as archon, see IG II² 649, with a new fragment added and complete re-edition by Dinsmoor in *The Archons of Athens* 7–8, and *Agora* XVI no. 167.

since Damasias in the years 582/1–580/79, nearly three hundred years earlier.¹² This was unconstitutional and is strong *prima facie* evidence of a regime that flouted or disrupted democratic practices. The office of the registrar, the *anagrapheus*, also makes a return during these years.¹³

There may have been other such periods. For example, in a civil disturbance over the food supply, Lachares, commander of mercenary troops, arrested Charias, the hoplite general, and some followers who were then condemned and put to death by the assembly after a single vote.¹⁴ This was certainly illegal and unconstitutional;¹⁵ it apparently happened, with the support of King Cassander of Macedonia, in spring of the year 300 B.C. Macedonian involvement ensures that a politician will be classified by later writers as oligarchic or anti-democratic. And Lachares is styled a tyrant.¹⁶ We know, however, that the assembly continued to function, the secretary cycle remained in place,¹⁷ and generals were elected.¹⁸ It was King Demetrios in retaking Athens in the spring of 295 who meddled with the constitution by the all but unprecedented act of imposing the double archonship of Olympiodoros on the city.¹⁹

12. Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 13.2. More than two centuries would pass before it happened again, when Medeios served from 91/0 to 89/8 (*IG* II² 1713 lines 9–11).

Moreover, this was not, it appears, the only time this Demetrios had imposed an important official on the Athenians. B. Petrakos, *Τὸ Ἔργον τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας* 1993 [1994] 7 = *SEG* 43 no. 27, reports a deme decree from Rhamnous that honors Adeimantos, general over the countryside, who was appointed by Demetrios Poliorketes.

13. The decree of the year 271/0 in honor of Demochares (*Vit. X Orat.* 851f) and that of 270/69 for Kallias (*Agora* I 7295 lines 79–83 = T. L. Shear, Jr., *Kallias of Sphettos and the Revolt of Athens in 286 B.C.*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 17 [Princeton 1978] 2–4) explicitly refer to this period as an oligarchy.

14. *POxy.* 2082 = *FGH* 257a.

15. Habicht, *Athens* 83 and n. 60; on this passage see also Dreyer 69–73.

16. Plutarch *Demetrios* 33.1.

17. The secretary of the year 299/8, known from *IG* II² 641 line 4, came from the deme of Kephale of the tribe Akamantis, which was the seventh tribe in the official order, whereas the secretary of the year 296/5 is in doubt, but may be from Azenia of the tribe Hippothontis, tenth in the official order (see *IG* II² 644 and *Agora* XVI no. 165 with A. G. Woodhead's discussion *ad loc.*). In any case, the secretary of the next year, 295/4, is known from *IG* II² 647 line 4 to belong to the deme of Phaleron from the tribe Aiantis, eleventh in the official order. It seems reasonably certain, then, that the secretary cycle remained in place during the time of Lachares.

18. *IG* II² 682 lines 21–24. See Dreyer 19–110 for an extended discussion of Lachares and Athens.

19. The citizenship decree for Herodoros of late winter to early spring of the year 294 (*IG* II² 646, esp. lines 15–23) that praises Herodoros for achieving friend-

There has been an extensive literature on the payment officials known as the board of administration, who are listed on the inscriptions either in the singular as $\delta \epsilon \pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \iota \omicron \iota \kappa \eta \sigma \epsilon \iota$, "the one in charge of the administration," or in the plural as $\omicron \iota \epsilon \pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \iota \omicron \iota \kappa \eta \sigma \epsilon \iota$, "those in charge of the administration." It has become more or less accepted dogma that the Athenian government of the third century B.C. alternated between periods of oligarchy and periods of democracy and that the former is characterized on inscriptions by the single officer and the latter by the plural board. The formulation "single officer oligarchic, plural board democratic" has proved neat and all but irresistible. The single officer, so the argument goes, characterizes the years 295 to 287, the plural board 287 to 262, and the single officer 262 to 229. However, the evidence, all drawn from inscriptions, is very thin and there is at least one clear exception.²⁰ In fact, the inscriptions may not provide a clear pattern. The proper conclusion is very likely to be that there was just one group of officials, the board, that came into existence about the year 295 or a bit later. The ancient scribes and letter-cutters could refer to the plural board or to the head of it—i.e., the single officer—without signifying any difference. Thus there are no constitutional implications and the chronological framework based on it has no validity.²¹

ship with King Demetrios so that the city might be freed of war and have democracy is assuredly rather partisan, if pointed, in its phraseology. Though very deferential toward the king, the wording explicitly limits the claimed possession/recovery of democracy to the *asty* (line 22), thereby carefully and meaningfully excluding Piraeus.

20. See lines 37–38 of G. S. Dontas' *editio princeps* of Acropolis Museum inv. no. 13371 in *Hesperia* 52 (1983) 48–63, which has the plural board in the archonship of Polyektos (250/49).

21. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* (1983) 157; P. J. Rhodes, "One Treasurer Oligarchic, Many Treasurers Democratic?" in *Tria Lustra: Essays and Notes Presented to John Pinsent*, ed. H. D. Jocelyn (Liverpool 1993) 1–3. Habicht, *Athens* 160, regards the evidence as inconclusive one way or the other.

Macedonian Domination

262 to 229 B.C.

Encouraged by King Ptolemy, the Athenians in the summer of the year 268 B.C. made an alliance with the Spartans against King Antigonos Gonatas.¹ Their purpose was no doubt to rid Piraeus of the irksome presence of the Macedonian garrison. The larger purpose of the coalition was to weaken their common enemy, Macedonia. The ensuing conflict is known as the Chremonidean War.² Antigonos' forces quickly moved to besiege Athens and, although King Ptolemy dispatched his general Patroklos with an army to aid his Athenian allies,³ the siege continued. The Athenians finally had to capitulate in the year of Antipatros' archonship, which was most probably 263/2. The king dealt firmly with his defeated foes. A Macedonian garrison initially was stationed in the city on Mouseion Hill as well as in Piraeus, and there can be no doubt that the king took political control of

1. IG II² 686 + 687; Schmitt, *Staatsverträge* no. 476. Antigonos and the Macedonians are naturally not mentioned; the implied aim of the alliance was the liberation of Greece (II² 687, esp. lines 13–18).

2. On the war and the period immediately following it, see Habicht, *Athens* 142–154. On the chronology of the first years of the war, see now Dreyer 286–341, who opts for 265/4 as the date of the archon Peithidemos. I remain unconvinced and think 268/7 more probable. See also S. Tracy, "Antigonos Gonatas, King of Athens," forthcoming in *The Macedonians in Athens, 322–229 B.C.*, ed. O. Palagia and S. V. Tracy (Oxford 2003).

3. For Patroklos and his soldiers in Attica, see lines 23–24 of the decree of Rhamnous in honor of Epichares, general over the coastal region for the year 268/7, published in Petrakos, *Rhamnous* II no. 3 (see also Bielman, *Retour* no. 24). On the site of their camp at Koroni, see E. Vanderpool, J. R. McCredie, and A. Steinberg, "Koroni: A Ptolemaic Camp on the East Coast of Attica," *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 26–61, and "Koroni: The Date of the Camp and the Pottery," *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 69–75; see also J. R. McCredie, *Fortified Military Camps in Attica*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 11 (Princeton 1966) 1–16.

Athens and Attica. He also, it appears probable, took over control of Athens' possessions in the northeast Aegean, the islands of Lemnos and Imbros. How he chose to exercise his authority in Attica itself, the extent to which he tampered with the constitution and the governing officials and bodies, is unclear.

The fragmentarily preserved chronicle of Apollodoros, which was written some hundred years and more after the events of 263/2 B.C., reports that [τὰς] ἀρχὰς [ἀνιρῶσθ]αι καὶ πᾶν ἐν[ός] βουλευ[ματι τελε]ῖσθαι ([the] offices [were abolish]ed and everything was [do]ne [by the] will [of] one man).⁴ Surely the person referred to here is the king. The first part of this statement, if the restoration is correct, is clearly an exaggeration, for many of the traditional offices of the city continued to function.⁵ Indeed, Diogenes Laertios (7.10–12) quotes the text of a decree of the Athenian assembly passed in the month Maimakterion of the next year, Arrheneides' year (October/November 262), in honor of the recently deceased founder of Stoicism, Zeno of Kition. The preamble reads as follows:

ἐπ' Ἀρρενίδου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος πέμπτης
πρυτανείας, Μαιμακτηριῶνος δεκάτῃ ὑστέρα, τρίτῃ καὶ
εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, ἐκκλησία κυρία, τῶν προέδρων
ἐπεψήφισεν Ἰππων Κρατιστοτέλους Ξυπetaίων καὶ οἱ
συμπρόεδροι Θράσων Θράσωνος Ἀνακαίους εἶπεν.

Although all elements of the preamble are not included, this language, apart from the change of tense of ἐπεψήφιζεν from the imperfect to the aorist, is perfectly normal. The eponymous archon and the chairmen of the meeting appear in their usual places. Later in the decree, the secretary of the people is instructed to inscribe the measure on stone stelai. These offices were certainly not abolished.

Thrason, son of Thrason, from the deme Anakaia proposed the measure ἐπαινέσαι μὲν Ζήνωνα Μνασέου Κιτιέα καὶ στεφανώσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ σωφροσύνης, οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τάφον ἐπὶ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ δημοσίᾳ (to praise Zeno, son of Mnaseas, of Kition and to crown him in accordance with the law with a crown of gold because of his excellent character and to erect a tomb for him in the Kerameikos at public expense). A board of five distinguished citizens from among all the Athenians was to be elected to over-

4. *FGrH* 244 F44; I have used the text quoted by T. Dorandi in *ZPE* 84 (1990) 130 no. 39.

5. Dreyer 171 n. 238 suggests [τὰς] ἀρχὰς [μετήλλαχθ]αι.

see the construction of the tomb and two copies of the decree were to be set up, one in the Academy and the other in the Lyceum. Although these honors are signal, particularly the construction at public expense of a tomb in the Kerameikos—an honor otherwise conferred usually on citizens who had died fighting for the city—the language of this decree is quite normal.

There is no indication in the wording of the measure that the king had a hand in the matter. It is Diogenes Laertios (7.15) who provides the crucial information that King Antigonos specifically requested this honor for Zeno through the agency of Thrason of Anakaia, who acted as his emissary. Thrason duly sponsored the proposal by presenting it to the assembly and is listed first among those elected to supervise construction of the tomb. Surely this is not accidental. He must have chaired the board and, as the king's personally chosen representative, clearly had the responsibility to see that the king's wishes were carried out. It is certainly very apparent from this incident that Antigonos' influence over the *ekklesia* in Athens was far-reaching indeed.

Moreover, at the close of the decree six men, not five, are listed as elected to oversee the construction of the tomb.⁶ The last in the list, Dion of Paiania, does not appear in the preferred manuscripts and so is bracketed in the Oxford and Teubner editions.⁷ But given that the number five is specified in the body of the decree, it is far easier to understand how for the sake of consistency the last name came to be deleted than how it might have been added.⁸ It seems much better, therefore, to retain the textual incongruity and to contemplate what it may imply. Certainly, it is highly noteworthy that the king's emissary, Thrason of Anakaia, heads the list. May we not reasonably suspect that although he is listed for simplicity's sake as elected,

6. *κεχειροτόνῃνται Θράσων Ἀνακαίεϋς, Φιλοκλῆς Πειραιεϋς, Φαῖδρος Ἀναφλύστιος, Μέ<ν>ων Ἀχαρνεϋς, <Σ>μίκυθος Συναληττεϋς, Δίων Παιανιεϋς*. At this remove in time, only one of those mentioned, Menon of Acharnai (note that the name is emended from "Medon"), is known to us in another capacity. He was also elected at roughly this same time to oversee the construction of a statue for Phaidros of Sphettos (*IG* II² 682 line 100).

7. The Oxford Classical Text of 1964 is by H. S. Long and the Teubner edition of 1999 by M. Marcovitch. By contrast, the editors of *PA* (no. 4512) and *LGP* II *sub nomine* include this Dion of Paiania.

8. H. Droysen, "Der attische Volksbeschluss zu Ehren des Zenon," *Hermes* 16 (1881) 291–301, esp. 296. Droysen comments that it is hard to see why the name was interpolated in obvious contradiction with the previously stated number. He then proceeds in the name of consistency to wonder instead if the number five might not be corrupt.

the Athenians either ratified, or simply accepted, the king's man and then elected five others from among their number? I think it very likely. The claim in Apollodoros' chronicle that "everything was done at the will/whim of one man" thus may well be largely true.

How ordinary officials were chosen in these years, we do not in fact know for certain. Were they chosen, as in the past, either by election or by a system of allotment? We possess only one explicit piece of evidence from the first years after the defeat, but it is very suggestive. An inscription from Rhamnous, perhaps of Euboulos' year (*ca.* 260), describes the general Apollodoros of Otryne as appointed by the king and elected by the people to the post of general over the coastal region ([κ]ατασταθείς στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τε τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν παραλίαν).⁹ This wording surely suggests that the Athenians put the best face on a bad situation by electing the man chosen by the king. The general over the coastal region was one of the most important military offices of the state, and for the king to select him marks an extraordinary breach of the constitution. Athenian generals were traditionally elected by a show of hands in the assembly. Presumably, whether the people had ratified it or not, Apollodoros would have received his appointment as general. It seems unlikely that this is an isolated incident. As discussed above, Thrason of Anakaia's appointment as head of the board to oversee the construction of the tomb for Zeno seems to be another.

Antigonos' appointment of Demetrios of Phaleron the Younger as a *thesmothes* probably also belongs to these early years. Hegesander reports that Demetrios offended his fellow citizens with his lavish lifestyle and, when censured for his behavior in front of the graybeards of the Areopagos, he spoke out in his own defense so strongly that not only was he let off but the reputations of his accusers suffered.¹⁰ ταῦτα δ' ἀκούσας Ἀντίγονος ὁ βασιλεὺς θεσμοθέτην αὐτὸν κατέστησεν (when King

9. J. Pouilloux, *La forteresse de Rhamnonte (étude de topographie et d'histoire)* (Paris 1954) no. 7 lines 7–8; the archon's name was proposed by S. Dow *apud* Pouilloux. This inscription is number 8 in Petrakos, *Rhamnous* II. M. J. Osborne, in "Philinos and the Athenian Archons of the 250s B.C." (*Polis and Politics: Studies in Ancient Greek History Presented to M. H. Hansen*, ed. P. Flensted-Jensen, T. H. Nielsen, and L. Rubinstein [Copenhagen 2000] 514–515 and n. 41), regards Euboulos as impossible and proposes Antimachos, whom he places in the year 256/5. His dating of Euboulos before Antigonos' defeat of Athens is based on the absence of prayers for the king in IG II² 678 = *Agora* XV no. 85. This may in fact be a strong argument; see below n. 34.

10. Athenaios 4.167e–f.

Antigonos learned of this, he appointed him *thesmothetes*).¹¹ That the king appointed one of the nine traditional archons of the city is a shocking breach of the constitution. While this act reveals the extraordinary degree to which he interfered at times in the conduct of the government, I do not think it is necessary to infer that the king appointed the other eight archons. Surely he had neither the time nor the necessary knowledge of affairs in Athens to personally select more than a few officials. It is not hard to imagine, however, that his representatives nominated likely candidates for his approval. His control of the appointment of the major officials in these initial years was probably quite direct.

Another important piece of evidence documenting the extent to which the king may have imposed his will on the people of Attica is a recently published decree from Rhamnous.¹² It records in lines 5 to 6 that at the time of its passage the Athenians had already honored the king with divine honors (*timai isotheoi*—the phrase is unique in Attic inscriptions). Although the date of this inscription cannot be established with certainty, it appears beyond doubt that the king referred to is Gonatas.¹³ Ch. Habicht and Ph. Gauthier have associated it with the removal of the garrison from the city about the year 255.¹⁴ J. Kralli in a forthcoming study titled "The Date and Context of Divine Honors for Antigonos Gonatas" places it later, in the context of the threat to Athens and the countryside created by the revolt of Alexander, son of Krateros, governor of Corinth and Chalkis. If a specific event is needed as motivation, and often a specific occasion did give rise to such extravagant honors, these both appear to be good candidates. However, a desire to curry favor with the monarch would have encouraged the Athenians to find a reason to vote such honors to Antigonos any time af-

11. W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London 1911) 183, was the first to identify the Demetrios of Phaleron mentioned in Athenaios (4.167f) as being appointed *thesmothetes* by the king as the grandson of the famous Demetrios, regent of Cassander. Habicht, *Studien* 18–20, 54; *Athens* 153–154, argued that the king appointed him to a special multiyear appointment that in fact amounted to making him his regent. S. V. Tracy, "Hands in Greek Epigraphy—Demetrios of Phaleron," in *Boeotia Antiqua* IV, ed. J. M. Fossey (Amsterdam 1994) 156–157, and *ADT* 43–44, 171–174, adopted and expanded this idea. R. Oetjen, "War Demetrios von Phaleron, der Jüngere, Kommissar des Königs Antigonos II. Gonatas in Athens?" *ZPE* 131 (2000) 111–117, has now shown that the idea is most probably wrong.

12. Petrakos, *Rhamnous* II no. 7. Cf. *SEG* 41 no. 75.

13. Ch. Habicht, "Divine Honors for King Antigonos in Athens," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 15 (1996) 131–134, esp. 132–133.

14. *Ibid.* 133 and Ph. Gauthier, *Bull. ép.* (1994) 522–523 no. 299.

ter his victory in the war; and given the evidence for his strong direct control at the beginning of his rule, an early date appears very likely.

Antigonos, so far as we can tell, did not interfere with the minting of coinage by the Athenians. But the activity of the mint of the Athenian state is difficult to document in this period.¹⁵ Production levels were low; still, there is no evidence to suggest that any of the Macedonian kings suppressed coining activity as a means of asserting political control.¹⁶ The low production levels were probably the natural consequence of the influx of Macedonian silver and bronze coins to cover the payroll of the troops stationed in Attica. The easy availability of this strong currency rendered it unnecessary for the Athenians to go to the expense and trouble of minting many coins in the years after 262.

By 255 the king had removed his garrison from the city and about that year, according to Eusebios, gave Athens her freedom.¹⁷ Again, it is hard to know what this sweeping statement signifies. He certainly made significant concessions concerning the military. For example, in addition to the removal of the garrison from the city proper, he probably returned the islands of Lemnos and Imbros to Athenian control.¹⁸ The inscriptions very significantly suggest that beginning with this year the king no longer interfered in the appointment of Athenian generals. The evidence from Rhamnous shows, if our dates are correct, that the generals ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν παραλίαν of the years 255/4 to 251/0 were elected by a show of hands.¹⁹ Likewise, an inscription from Eleusis, IG II² 1285, reveals that a general, most probably the general ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν ἐπ' Ἐλευσίνος,

15. J. Kroll, *The Greek Coins*, The Athenian Agora XXVI (Princeton 1993) 12–13.

16. Habicht, *Studien* 40–41; T. R. Martin, *Sovereignty and Coinage in Classical Greece* (Princeton 1985) 183, 247; G. Oliver, “The Politics of Coinage: Athens and Antigonos Gonatas,” in *Money and Its Uses in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. A. Meadows and K. Shipton (Oxford 2001) 35–52.

17. *Chronica*, ed. A. Schöne (Berlin 1866) II 120.

18. IG II² 735 provides evidence of Athenian activity on Lemnos ca. the year 250 (below 115–116). IG II² 550 and 1222 also refer to events on Lemnos and probably belong to this time. In any case, the hand (below 102–103, 109–110) reveals that they do not reflect the events of the year 314/3 and after (as IG).

19. Petrakos, *Rhamnous* II nos. 136/7 (II² 2854), 129 (II² 2856), and 10.

The inscription published by Petrakos as no. 17 in *Rhamnous* II (Bielman, *Re-tour* no. 30) refers to appointments by the king of garrison commanders at Rhamnous (lines 6–7), Eleusis (12), and Panakton (14–16). This inscription dates to Ekphantos' year (235/4), but clearly refers to events from earlier years, probably before 255.

was elected by a show of hands soon after the year 256/5. Lines 59 and 64 of *IG II*² 1299 also enable us to see that Aristophanes Leukonoëus was elected general ἐπ' Ἐλευσίνος for the years 236/5 and 235/4. Moreover, Athenians once more played a role in their city's defenses, for the ephebes of Polyeuktos' year (250/49) receive praise for guarding Mouseion Hill.²⁰ It was probably in thanks for these developments that the people approved a statue of the king and a pedestal to support it.²¹

In any case, the year 255 B.C. hardly marks a return to the traditional constitution, for there continues to be evidence of disruption or interference in the internal workings of the government. The king's troops and his handpicked commander kept absolute control of the strategically decisive fortress in Piraeus. An inscription of about the year 248 passed by the deme on Salamis records that Herakleitos of Athmonon was appointed by the king as general over the Piraeus and over the others ranged with the Piraeus—καὶ νῦν καθεστηκώς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ Πειραιέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ταττομένων μετὰ τοῦ Πειραιέως.²² Herakleitos of Athmonon is also known from *IG II*² 677 to have repaired the stadium at the time of the Panathenaic games. He was thus a wealthy and a distinguished Athenian citizen. His particular loyalty to the king is attested in lines 4 to 5 of this inscription, where he is described as erecting to Athena Nike—that is, on the Acropolis—stelai commemorating the efforts of the king against the barbarians to secure Greek freedom.²³ He is clearly the king's man and a loyal adherent of long standing.²⁴ With this installation and these troops, the king will have experienced no problem in maintaining his control of Athens and Attica. He also, it seems clear, paid fairly close attention to the forts protecting the borders of Attica. Indeed, a very fragmentary inscription, *IG II*² 1280, mentions a personal visit of the king to the troops stationed in Eleusis. It may well date

20. Agora I 7160 (*Hesperia* 59 [1990] 543–547) line 4; it belongs with EM 12801, an unpublished fragment from the Epigraphical Museum, which reveals that it is part of *IG II*² 681.

21. *IG II*² 793 lines 9–11, 20.

22. *IG II*² 1225 (Bielman, *Retour* no. 25) lines 7–9.

23. A. N. Kondoleon, *Akte des 4. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik*, Wien 1962 (1964) 196–197.

24. We know from the *Athenaion Politeia* 61.1 that by the mid-320s there were two Athenian generals for the Piraeus—one in command of the fortress at Piraeus, the other in command of the Akte promontory. Under Antigonos' arrangement there was no Athenian military presence in Piraeus and thus no need for these Athenian generals.

to this time.²⁵ This evidence suggests that he continued to exercise great control over the military in Attica.

Did the king's control also extend to the civic offices in the city? It appears so; at least there is strong evidence to suggest that important aspects of the democratic constitution were not functioning. Recent studies of the Athenian archon list, for example, suggest that tribal rotation in the secretary cycle may have lapsed for some years around the middle of the third century. Indeed M. J. Osborne has argued more generally that the secretary cycles are a feature of democratic governments and are absent from more authoritarian regimes.²⁶ Although I regard the case as far from proved—the exact sequence of archons and secretaries is very uncertain—I think he is probably correct, at least for much of the period from the end of the Chremonidean War until the liberation from Macedonian control in the year 229 B.C. Unfortunately, the evidence is thin, for not only are we unable to establish the precise year of service for many of these archons, but we rarely have reliable sequences of archons. Finally, either the secretaries are often not linked securely with archons or their tribal affiliations are not preserved. In such cases, we cannot know whether the tribal cycle was in operation or not.

The inscription published in volume 2 of *SEG* as number 9²⁷ provides us with an invaluable list of successive archons. It gives us two sequences of archons, with at most two archons' names lost in between: (1) Polyeuktos, Hieron, and Diomedon; (2) [Theophemos], Kydenor, and probably Eurykleides. The known tribal affiliations for the secretaries of this sequence of archons are

Polyeuktos	VII
Hieron	VIII
Diomedon	XII
[1? archon lost]	
[Theophemos]	?

25. Habicht, *Studien* 59–62, based on an improved reading, dates this text to *ca.* 244.

26. See principally "The Archonship of Nikias Hysteros," *ZPE* 58 (1985) 275–295, esp. 288–295, and "The Chronology of Athens in the Mid Third Century B.C.," *ZPE* 78 (1989) 209–242, esp. 209–215, 241.

27. Originally published by A. D. Keramopoulos, *Ἀποτυμπανισμός* (Athens 1923) 113ff. For the text and further discussion, see below 121–124.

Kydenor	VI
Eurykleides	?

We should add to this information the fact that the archon Philoneos must come in the gap between Diomedon and Kydenor, for the ephebes and *agoranomoi* of his year were praised in the archonship of Kydenor.²⁸ His secretary also came, it appears, from the sixth tribe.²⁹ This evidence clearly reveals that the tribal rotation of secretaries was not in operation, at least for the years from Diomedon (248/7) to Kydenor (245/4). Whether the cycles lapsed entirely during this period or only sporadically remains an open question.

We also have firm evidence in this period for the first time of an individual serving thrice in the *boule*. Kallistratos, son of Telesinos, of Erchia was one of the *prytaneis* praised in Euboulos' archonship, acted as chairman of the proedroi in the year of Diomedon, and proposed a probouleumatic decree in the archonship of Kydenor.³⁰ He may not be the only attested case. Lykomedes, son of Diochares, of Konthyle proposed two decrees in the *boule*, one in Philinos' year and the other in Antimachos'.³¹ Habicht has also restored him with some probability as the proposer of a probouleumatic decree during the archonship of Kallimedes.³² Epicharmos, son of Kallistratides, from Kolonos may be another who served for a third time in these years (see below 152–153). Previous to this time, according to the *Athenaion Politeia* (62.3), an individual was allowed to serve in the *boule* just two times in his lifetime. After the removal of the Macedonian garrison from Piraeus and reestablishment of local control, the Athenians again apparently reinstated the two-time limitation, for there are no known exceptions in the years from 229 to the time of Augustus.

Two of the cardinal principles of the democratic constitution of Athens were the rotation of offices by lot through the tribes and strict limits on office holding. These constitutional provisions assured widespread citizen

28. IG II² 766, Agora XVI no. 217.

29. Agora XVI no. 214 line 2.

30. Agora XV no. 85 line 27, IG II² 791 lines 6–7 = Agora XVI no. 213, Agora XVI no. 217 line 8. I am grateful to J. D. Morgan for calling him to my attention.

31. Agora XV no. 89 line 23 and IG II² 769 + 441 lines 9–10 = B. D. Meritt, *AJPh* 66 (1945) 241–242. Note that Meritt prints the name of the speaker as *Λυκομήδης Δι[. Δ]ου[σιεύς]*. The letters he read as *OY* are *ΘY*. We may read and restore with confidence *Λυκομήδης Δι[οχάρου Κον]θυ[λήθεν]*.

32. IG II² 777 lines 6–7 as restored in Habicht, *Studien* 202.

participation in the governing process. The probable abandonment of the secretary cycle for many of the years after 262 is thus a truly momentous change; it probably also entailed a change in the mode of selection from an allotment process to election or appointment. The relaxation of the two-time limit on service in the *boule* likewise marks a very significant deviation from the democratic constitution. Even if we were to plead that it merely indicates a decline in population and available resources to the point that there were not enough eligible candidates to maintain the system,³³ it nonetheless appears to have been the case that the Macedonian kings exercised strong control of Athens and Attica during the years from 262 to 229. The inscriptions provide official, as well as public, attestation of this control: down to the year 229 B.C. they routinely, and perhaps invariably,³⁴ express loyalty to the king and the royal house of Macedon.³⁵

The fact that the Athenians regarded the removal of the Macedonian garrison from Piraeus during the year 229 as a real liberation seems meaningful, more than mere rhetoric. They praised Eurykleides and his brother Mikion for restoring freedom to the city (καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποκατέστησ[εν τῇ πόλει με]τὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Μικίωνος).³⁶ Two inscriptions from Rhamnous of about this same time refer to 229 as the year in which the people recovered their ancestral freedom, ἡ πάτριος

33. There is some evidence of a decline in population and wealth from the fourth to the third centuries. One of the most reliable indicators is that the number of cavalry members fell to about 300 from 1,000. See G. Bugh, *The Horsemen of Athens* (Princeton 1988) 184–191; I. G. Spence, *The Cavalry of Classical Greece: A Social and Military History with Particular Reference to Athens* (Oxford 1993) 97–102.

34. IG II² 689, 690, 807 and Agora XV no. 84 have all been thought to be instances of inscriptions that date to the time of King Antigonos and lack the phrase mentioning him and his wife Phila and their offspring. The hands of the cutters reveal that IG II² 689, 690, and Agora XV no. 84 date prior to the year 263/2; the first two are by the IG II² 689 Cutter (below 74–79) and the third is most probably the handiwork of the Cutter of IG II² 657 (below 67–68). IG II² 807 is the work of the Cutter of IG II² 1706 and is to be dated after 229 (ALC 46).

35. Many were later erased, when the Athenians in the spring of 200 B.C. in response to provocations from Philip V, then king of Macedonia, declared war and abolished the Macedonian tribes Antigonis and Demetrias, but a number were overlooked and so survive. For a list of inscriptions with mention of the Macedonian tribes and/or royal family erased, see S. Dow, *Prytaneis: A Study of the Inscriptions Honoring the Athenian Councillors*, Hesperia Suppl. 1 (Princeton 1937) 48–50 with the additions by Habicht, *Studien* 148 n. 137. The tribe was not erased in IG II² 784 and in Agora XV no. 84. Mention of the king and/or the royal house remain uneffaced on IG II² 776 lines 9–10, II² 793, II² 1225, and EM 13371 (*Hesperia* 52 [1983] 52 lines 23–25).

36. IG II² 834 lines 10–11.

ἐλευθερία.³⁷ This turn of phrase does not occur elsewhere in Attic inscriptions; it seems to be more than the usual political rhetoric.

Antigonos apparently ruled quite directly and for nearly a quarter century interfered as he saw fit with the internal workings of the Athenian state. His rule is exceptional in this regard. The prevailing tendency in most periods was to leave the basic machinery of the democracy alone, either ruling or pretending to rule *κατὰ τὰ πάτρια*, according to ancestral custom. Once established and brought to its height under Perikles, the democracy clearly exercised a strong appeal for Athenians of later ages.³⁸ Even under Antigonos, *it is prima facie unlikely* that the Macedonians systematically interfered with the internal affairs of the Athenians. The garrison in Piraeus was there for strategic purposes; these troops provided protection from external attack and ensured that the city remained loyal. Their presence was certainly resented and may at times have been oppressive; but there is nothing to suggest that they often involved themselves in domestic affairs. Yet the king's influence, benign though it may often have been, was apparently pervasive.

37. Petrakos, *Rhamnous* II no. 22 lines 2–3 (cf. *SEG* 15 no. 111) and no. 26 lines 8–9 (cf. *SEG* 28 no. 107).

38. On the persistence of the democracy into the latter part of the second century B.C., see S. V. Tracy, "Athens in 100 B.C.," *HSCP* 83 (1979) 213–235, esp. 220–225; R. Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire: The Development of the Roman Imperium in the East from 148 to 62 B.C.* (Berkeley 1995) 198–220.

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PART II

Attic Letter-Cutters of 300 to 229 B.C.

In the following dossiers a plus sign (+) before an inscription number indicates that the text receives discussion in the comments that follow.

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657	² 657 Cutter, xviin.2, 62–65
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725	² 657 Cutter, 65

728	I 3238 Cutter, 83
729	² 788 Cutter, 129, 134–137
730/1	I 6664 Cutter, 101, 102, 111
735	² 776 Cutter, xviii.4, 20n.18, 109–110, 114, 115–116, 117
741	style of I 3238 Cutter, 89, 94
743	style of ² 657 Cutter, 67, 72–73
744	style of ² 788 Cutter, 133
746	I 3238 Cutter, 83
747	² 788 Cutter, 129
748	misc., 152
749	² 788 Cutter, 129
750	part of ² 766
760	part of ² 662
765	² 788 Cutter, 129, 154
766	² 788 Cutter, 23n.28, 124n.5, 129–130, 143, 147, 154
768	² 788 Cutter, 130, 135–141, 144n.32, 146–147, 154
769	² 788 Cutter, 23n.31, 130, 141–142, 146–147, 154
770	² 788 Cutter, 130, 154
772	I 3238 Cutter, 83, 154, 156
774	² 776 Cutter, 114, 116–117, 124n.10, 154
775	I 6664 Cutter, 102–103, 111, 154
776	² 776 Cutter, 24n.35, 112–114, 116–117, 155
777	I 3238 Cutter, 23n.32, 83, 142, 155
778 = Ag. XVI no. 208	² 788 Cutter, 130, 155
779	² 788 Cutter, 130, 155
780	I 3238 Cutter, 83, 117n.2, 155, 161–162
781	² 788 Cutter, 130, 155, 161
782	I 3238 Cutter, 83, 155
784	I 3238 Cutter, 2n.8, 24n.35, 84, 155
787	² 788 Cutter, 131, 143, 147n.52, 155

IG II² (continued)

788	² 788 Cutter, 128, 131, 147, 155
790 = Ag. XV no. 115	² 788 Cutter, 131, 147, 148n.56, 155, 177
791 = Ag. XVI no. 213	² 788 Cutter, 23n.30, 124, 131, 147n.50, 155
792	I 3238 Cutter, 84, 89–90, 96, 155
793	² 788 Cutter, 21n.21, 24n.35, 131, 155
795	² 788 Cutter, 131, 155
797	² 689 Cutter, 77, 155, 156
798	² 788 Cutter, 131, 147, 148, 155
799	² 788 Cutter, 131, 147, 155
801	I 3238 Cutter, 84, 95n.8, 98, 155
802	joins ² 768
803	part of ² 775
804	joins ² 718
806	I 6664 Cutter, 103, 110
810	I 3238 Cutter, 84, 97n.15
813	² 788 Cutter, 131
815	² 657 Cutter, 65
818	² 1262 Cutter, 38
819	I 3238 Cutter, 84
823	I 3238 Cutter, 84
828	² 788 Cutter, 131, 147n.49
845	² 788 Cutter, 124n.12, 132, 147, 149
857	² 788 Cutter, 132, 147
860	I 3238 Cutter, 84, 98n.17
879	² 788 Cutter, 132, 147
928	style of ² 788 Cutter, 133, 141
1163	² 657 Cutter, 65
1165	I 3238 Cutter, 85, 96, 98
1219	I 3238 Cutter, 85
1222	I 6664 Cutter, 20n.18, 103, 109–110, 111, 116
1253	misc., 152
1272	I 3238 Cutter, 85

1277	I 3238 Cutter, 85, 96
1279	I 3238 Cutter, 85
1282	I 6664 Cutter, 103, 111
1283	I 3238 Cutter, 85, 127n.17
1284	SEG II no. 9 Cutter, 120, 125, 127nn.17–18
1285	² 788 Cutter, 20, 132, 147n.52
1287	I 3238 Cutter, 85, 96
1288	joins ² 1219
1289	² 788 Cutter, 132
1297	² 788 Cutter, 132, 147n.50
1298	² 788 Cutter, 132
1299	² 788 Cutter, 21, 39n.6, 132, 147n.52
1304b	style of ² 788 Cutter, 133, 144n.30, 147, 148
1317b	SEG II no. 9 Cutter, 120, 125, 127
1534B	I 3238 Cutter, 85–86, 95n.8, 98, 142n.24
1535	part of ² 1534B
1705	² 788 Cutter, 132
2411	part of I 5105
2427	part of I 5105
2430	² 657 Cutter, 65
2431a	I 3238 Cutter, 86
2437 = Ag. XV no. 125	I 3238 Cutter, 86
2971	² 788 Cutter, 132
2979	style of ² 788 Cutter, 133
3079 lines 5–20	I 3238 Cutter, 86

AGORA I

15 = Ag. XVI no. 185	I 3238 Cutter, 86, 96
23 = Ag. XVI no. 204	² 788 Cutter, 132, 147
96	joins I 15
131	² 788 Cutter, 132, 147, 149
202 = Ag. XV no. 110	I 3238 Cutter, 86, 95n.8, 98
220 = Ag. XVI no. 206	I 6664 Cutter, 103
489	style of ² 788 Cutter, 133, 142–143

AGORA I (*continued*)

625 = Ag. XV no. 77	I 3238 Cutter, 86
664 = Ag. XV no. 113	² 788 Cutter, 132
672 = Ag. XVI no. 209	² 788 Cutter, 132
749 = Ag. XVI no. 174	I 6664 Cutter, 103, 111
811	part of I 625
818	part of I 625
820	part of I 625
828 = Ag. XV no. 91	misc., 152–153
863 = Ag. XVI no. 182	I 6664 Cutter, xviin.2, 104, 111
922	part of ² 1705
937 = Ag. XVI no. 118	² 478 Cutter, 60
1024 = Ag. XV no. 86	I 3238 Cutter, 86, 96, 107n.3
1273 = Ag. XVI no. 183	² 776 Cutter, 114–115, 117, 146n.44
1280	part of I 828
1367	part of ² 766
1441	² 478 Cutter, 59n.1, 60, 61n.3
1458	I 3238 Cutter, 86, 89
1497 = Ag. XVI no. 210	² 788 Cutter, 132
1524 = Ag. XVI no. 180	² 657 Cutter, xviin.2, 65, 69n.8
1533	I 3238 Cutter, 86, 98
1679 = Ag. XV no. 116	² 788 Cutter, xviin.4, 132, 147, 149
1764 = Ag. XV no. 109	I 3238 Cutter, 86
1777	part of I 1533
1778	part of I 1533
1804 + 1870 = Ag. XV no. 105	² 657 Cutter, 65
1904	joins ² 792
1918	I 4266 Cutter, 50, 51
1971	part of I 1533
1999 = Ag. XV no. 100	² 788 Cutter, 132, 147, 148n.54, 176n.9
2014	part of I 1533
2054	part of ² 700
2455 = Ag. XVI no. 192	I 3238 Cutter, 86
2462	I 6664 Cutter, 104, 111

2581	I 6664 Cutter, 104–107
3048 = Ag. XVI no. 199	I 3238 Cutter, 86, 96
3238 = Ag. XVI no. 194	I 3238 Cutter, 80, 86
3241 = Ag. XVI no. 202	I 3238 Cutter, 86
3319	part of ² 766
3370	joins ² 665
3394	I 3238 Cutter, 86
3460 = Ag. XVI no. 179	² 650 Cutter, xviin.2, 49
3605	I 3238 Cutter, 86, 93
3722	joins ² 766
3825	² 657 Cutter, 64, 68–69
3855 = Ag. XV no. 79	I 3238 Cutter, 87, 169–177
3870 = Ag. XVI no. 211	² 788 Cutter, 132
3951	joins ² 1705
4038	part of I 5105
4138 = Ag. XVI no. 218	² 788 Cutter, 133
4162	part of ² 766
4169	part of I 3238
4323	style of ² 788 Cutter, 134, 143, 144n.33
4330	I 4266 Cutter, 50
4495	style of ² 788 Cutter, 134, 143–144
4526 = Ag. XVI no. 212	² 788 Cutter, 133, 149
4536	joins ² 791
4622	joins ² 778
4812 = Ag. XVI no. 162	misc., 152
4871 = Ag. XV no. 108	² 788 Cutter, 133
4890	joins I 1764
4929 = Ag. XV no. 119	² 788 Cutter, 133
4943 = Ag. XV no. 111	I 3238 Cutter, 87, 95n.8, 98, 177
4986	I 3238 Cutter, 87, 90–93
4988 = Ag. XVI no. 119	misc., 150, 151
5069	² 1262 Cutter, 38, 45–46
5105 = Ag. XV no. 72	² 657 Cutter, xviin.2, 65
5151 = Ag. XV no. 84	style of ² 657 Cutter, 24nn.34–35, 67–68, 177

AGORA I (*continued*)

5173 = Ag. XVI no. 62	² 657 Cutter, 66
5191 = Ag. XVI no. 217	² 788 Cutter, 23nn.28 and 30, 124n.5, 133, 148
5256 = Ag. XVI no. 134	² 657 Cutter, 66
5269	style of ² 788 Cutter, 134, 144
5326 = Ag. XVI no. 203	I 3238 Cutter, 87
5391	² 657 Cutter, 66, 68
5392	I 3238 Cutter, 87, 97n.16, 169–177
5463	part of I 7070
5466	part of ² 717
5531	part of ² 790
5559 = Ag. XVI no. 214	style of ² 788 Cutter, 23n.29, 134
5592 = Ag. XVI no. 195	I 3238 Cutter, 87
5653 = Ag. XVI no. 197	² 776 Cutter, 115
5657 = Ag. XVI no. 178	I 3238 Cutter, 87, 96
5796 = Ag. XVI no. 219	I 3238 Cutter, 87–88
5972 = Ag. XVI no. 114	² 478 Cutter, 59n.1, 60, 61n.3
5992 = Ag. XV no. 81	I 3238 Cutter, 88
6064 = Ag. XVI no. 216	² 788 Cutter, 124n.6, 133, 148
6096 = Ag. XVI no. 188	I 6664 Cutter, 97n.15, 104, 111
6259 = Ag. XV no. 80	I 3238 Cutter, 88, 96, 176
6416	² 1262 Cutter, 38, 46–48
6533 = Ag. XVI no. 184	I 3238 Cutter, 88
6551 = Ag. XV no. 75	I 3238 Cutter, 88
6560	part of ² 662
6664 = Ag. XVI no. 187	I 6664 Cutter, 99–101, 104, 111
6696 = Ag. XVI no. 186	I 6664 Cutter, 104, 109n.9, 111, 146n.43
6704	part of I 5105
6731 = Ag. XVI no. 189	² 657 Cutter, 66, 69–70, 72–73
6801	part of ² 665
6844 = Ag. XVI no. 163	misc., 152
7043 = Ag. XV no. 89	I 3238 Cutter, 23n.31, 88, 98, 176n.10, 177
7070 = Ag. XVI no. 117	² 478 Cutter, 48, 60
7160	part of ² 681

7290	I 6664 Cutter, 104, 107–109, 111
7308	I 3238 Cutter, 88, 96
7587	I 4266 Cutter, 50, 51, 52, 156n.14
ACROPOLIS MUSEUM	
7358	part of ² 1534B
13371	² 788 Cutter, xixn.6, 14n.20, 24n.35, 132, 144
ELEUSIS	
no #	² 1262 Cutter, 38–45
E 153	² 788 Cutter, 133
E 675	I 3238 Cutter, 88
E 686	² 788 Cutter, 133
EM	
2463	joins EM 12800
3381	² 788 Cutter, 133
12671	I 3238 Cutter, 88
12699	² 478 Cutter, 60, 145n.38
12736	I 3238 Cutter, 88
12800	part of ² 766
12801	part of ² 681
12909, 12925	join ² 672
12962	² 478 Cutter, 48, 61, 145n.38
13405	I 3238 Cutter, 88
Piraeus Museum Inv. No. 6657	SEG II no. 9 Cutter, 121, 127
<i>ArchDelt</i> 18A 103–105	I 4266 Cutter, 50, 51, 158n.14
<i>ArchDelt</i> 18A 109–110	I 3238 Cutter, 88, 98n.17
SEG II no. 9	SEG II no. 9 Cutter, 22–23, 118–120, 121–124, 127, 165–166, 167n.8
SEG II no. 10	SEG II no. 9 Cutter, 121, 125

Addenda to the Cutter of IG II² 1262

Dates: ca. 320 – ca. 290

For a description of this cutter's lettering, photographs, and a full list of inscriptions, see *ADT* 136–147. This man was one of the major cutters in Athens at the end of the fourth century and beginning of the third. It now appears likely that he was active down to at least the year 290 B.C.

ADDENDA TO LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

IG II ² 818	The text suggests (I have been able to locate neither the stone nor a squeeze) that this inscription is in reality the upper right part of IG II ² 641 and not a separate inscription. ¹
Agora I 5069	Published below.
Agora I 6416	Published below.
Eleusis (inv. no. unknown)	Archon Aristion (ca. 290). <i>ArchDelt</i> 23A 1968) 1–6 (= <i>SEG</i> 24 no. 156).

THE DATE OF THE ATHENIAN ARCHON ARISTION

During a short sojourn in Athens during June 1995, in the archives of the American School of Classical Studies I came across several squeezes of

1. Noted by G. Stamires in the margin of Meritt's copy of IG but not, so far as I can determine, ever published. There is no EM number listed for it in the files at the Epigraphical Museum in Athens and it is not joined to IG II² 641 or indicated as part of it.

an inscription found at Eleusis that I had not previously seen. I recognized the lettering at once as the work of a cutter known to me, viz. the present cutter.² The squeezes were labeled simply "Eleusis." A quick search soon revealed that the text had been published for the first time in 1968 by E. Vanderpool.³

The inscription records a decree passed by a *thiasos* in honor of a certain Paidikos, perhaps treasurer of the group. He receives praise for having protected the interests of his fellow *thiasotai*; in fact, he is described as having rendered signal service in time of war (διέσωσε line 2, [πο]λέμου ὄντος ἐν τεῖ χώραι line 3, διὰ τὸν πόλεμον line 4). Paidikos served when [A]ristion was archon (line 2). There can be no doubt, as L. Robert rightly saw,⁴ that he is the eponymous archon of the city of Athens. This inscription thus far remains the sole attestation for the archon Aristion.

Vanderpool in his *editio princeps* concluded that the text belonged to the third century B.C. and certainly was to be dated prior to 225 B.C. Indeed, his first instinct, based on the strict *stoichedon* order of the inscription and the cruciform shape of phi, was for a date in the first half of the century. However, citing B. D. Meritt's *The Athenian Year* (Berkeley 1961), he noted that "the archon list of the first half of the third century is full, and although the order of some of the names is perhaps still subject to change, it would be very hard to find a place for a completely new name."⁵ Vanderpool therefore tentatively assigned Aristion to the decade of the 230s, where there were a number of vacancies and uncertainties in the archon list as then constituted by Meritt. That decade also coincided nicely with the Demetrian War, which began in Lysias' archonship (commonly dated to the year 239/8 B.C.) and affected the Eleusinians in Kimon's and Ekphantos' archonships⁶ (usually dated to 237/6 and 236/5). This considerably nar-

2. This discovery came too late to be included in *ADT*, which was published in September 1995.

3. "Three Inscriptions from Eleusis," *ArchDelt* 23A (1968) 1-6.

4. "Inscriptions d'Athènes et de la Grèce Centrale," *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς* (1969) 14-23 (= *Opera Minora Selecta* [Amsterdam 1990] VII 720-729). "L'archonte Aristion est nécessairement non pas un 'archonte' du thiasé, mais celui de l'État athénien; la formule ἐπ' Ἀριστίωνος ἄρχοντος dans un document d'Athènes ne peut s'interpréter autrement" (p. 15). In contrast, J. Pouilloux, "Un nouvel archonte d'Athènes?" *ZPE* 4 (1969) 1-6, raised the possibility that the archon might be of the *thiasos* (p. 3). There are, to my knowledge, no examples of the name of an archon of an association or local organization employed, as here, to date an official's term in office using ἐπὶ followed by the simple name and title in the genitive case. I owe thanks to A. P. Matthaiou for help on this point.

5. Vanderpool, "Three Inscriptions from Eleusis," 3-4.

6. *IG II²* 1299 lines 57-69.

rowed the possible range of dates, and with some confidence Vanderpool then placed Aristion in 238/7, the second year of the war. His conclusion has been generally accepted, aside from the possibility that Aristion's archonship might belong to a slightly later year.⁷

It now appears, however, that Vanderpool's dating was incorrect. The year 238/7 is not possible. Aristion's archonship should be placed roughly a half century earlier, for the Cutter of *IG II*² 1262 belongs to the late fourth and early third centuries. Indeed, he is known to have been active from *ca.* 320 to *ca.* 296 B.C. and possibly down to *ca.* 285.⁸ Moreover, his hand is very distinctive and inscriptions cut by him are consequently quite easy to recognize.

He makes a number of unusual letter shapes—among them, epsilon, rho, sigma, phi, and omega.⁹ His epsilon has a central horizontal that is at times placed in the lower half of the letter and slants upward decidedly. The loop of rho is fairly large, approximately one-third to one-half the height of the letter; it is made with one or more straight segments. He made sigma with four long slanting strokes so disposed that the lower half is often larger than the upper and extends farther back. The central part of his phi consists of a single line or a thin, flattened oval. His omega is not as tall as the other letters. It is relatively thin, open at the bottom, and "hangs" from the top of the letter-space. The left side is often rendered by a straight stroke. The letter is asymmetrical, in that one side or the other quite frequently extends down below the other.

I print here as figure 1 a photograph of *IG II*² 1262 and as figure 2 a photograph (from a squeeze) of the Eleusinian decree in the archives at the American School.¹⁰ The letter-shapes described just above appear clearly

7. Robert, "Inscriptions d'Athènes et de la Grèce Centrale" 15; A. G. Woodhead in *SEG* 24 no. 156; B. D. Meritt, "Athenian Archons 347/6–48/7 B.C.," *Historia* 26 (1977) 176, and "Mid-Third-Century Athenian Archons," *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 96. Pouilloux ("Un nouvel archonte d'Athènes?"), although he doubts that this is the eponymous archon, generally accepts the date. M. J. Osborne, "The Chronology of Athens in the Mid Third Century B.C.," *ZPE* 78 (1989) 241, variously places Aristion in 237/6 or in 234/3.

8. Although I suggested in *ADT* 140–141 that Agora I 5723 (*Agora* XVI no. 176) probably belonged to the last years of the fourth century and the first years of the third, it is still possible that Meritt's date based on mention of the Piraeus in line 5 of "*ca. a. 285/4–283/2 a.*" is correct.

9. See also the description of his lettering and the photograph of *IG II*² 1262 in *ADT* 136–138.

10. I owe thanks to my student Paul Iversen who was then at the American School for the loan of his camera and for the extra pair of hands needed to make this latter photograph.

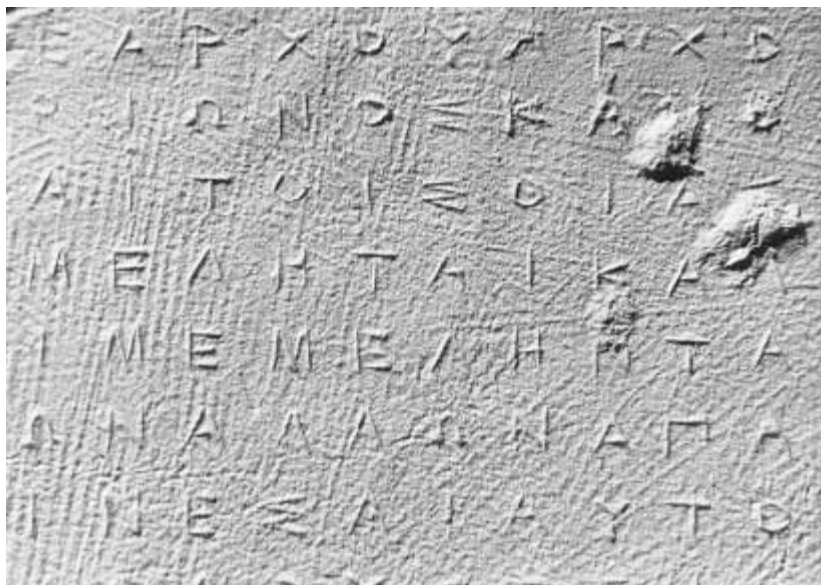


Figure 1. IG II² 1262 lines 1–7.

on both pieces.¹¹ Indeed, it is my judgment that all the letter-shapes on these two inscriptions are practically identical in every way. If study of the photographs leads the reader to agree, then the conclusion must follow that this Eleusinian inscription has to be dated to a period of war much earlier than 238/7. This cutter, it appears, began his working career around the year 320 and did some inscribing under Demetrios of Phaleron (317–307), but most of his extant work belongs to the years after 307.¹² The sequence of Athenian archons of the years 361/0 to 292/1 is reliably established from Dionysios of Halikarnassos;¹³ there is no place available for Aristion in the years 320 to 292/1. We must, therefore, seek a date for the inscription and for the archonship of Aristion around the year 290 B.C.

11. A clearly preserved phi appears only in line 18 on the face of the Eleusis text; it cannot be made out on my photograph made from the squeeze because of the lighting conditions, but its characteristic cruciform shape can be discerned on plate 1a accompanying Vanderpool's article ("Three Inscriptions from Eleusis"). Another can also be seen just above the alpha of Attis on plate 1b. Note, by the way, that the name Attis is inscribed *in rasura* in larger letters by a different hand; clearly it represents a later correction.

12. For the details, see ADT 146–147.

13. *Din.* 9. The annalistic account of Diodoros also gives us the archons down to the year 302.

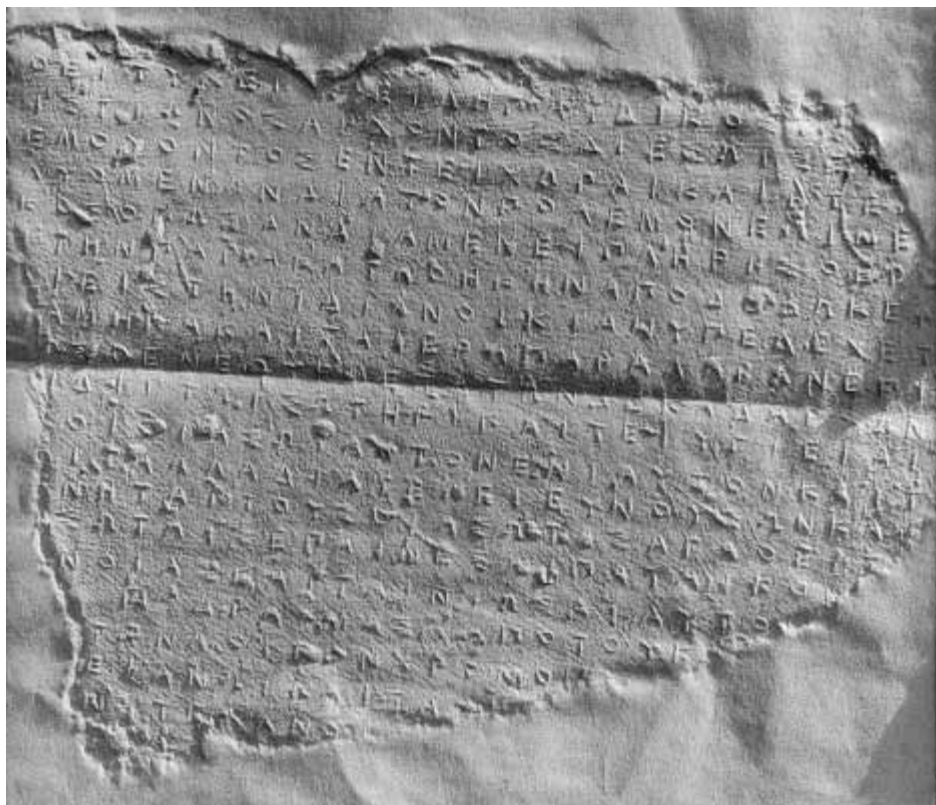


Figure 2. *ArchDelt* 23A (1968) 1–6.

The most well-known conflict of that time is the Athenian uprising against King Demetrios Poliorketes; it began, it is now thought, sometime in the spring of 287.¹⁴ Kallias of Sphettos and his brother Phaidros, the hoplite general, in the late spring and early summer took the initiative to preserve the harvest in the face of Demetrios' advancing troops. The Athenians were thus able to hold out for a negotiated settlement.¹⁵ The reference in our inscription to war existing in the countryside (line 3) no doubt

14. On the date, see Habicht, *Untersuchungen* 45–67; M. J. Osborne, "Kallias, Phaidros, and the Revolt of Athens in 287 B.C.," *ZPE* 35 (1979) 181–194; Dreyer 200–223.

15. Habicht, *Athens* 95–97; fundamental primary sources for the events of this war are the decrees honoring Kallias of Sphettos (T. L. Shear, Jr., *Kallias of Sphettos and the Revolt of Athens in 286 B.C.*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 17 [Princeton 1978]) and his brother Phaidros (*IG* II² 682) and the citizenship decrees for Strombichos, one of Demetrios' veteran mercenaries, who joined the revolt (*IG* II² 666 and 667).

reflects fighting in the vicinity of Eleusis. Moreover, Eleusis lay in the path of Demetrios' advance from Corinth and clearly must have witnessed some of the first clashes of this war for independence. But, although the fit is superficially attractive, the decree honoring Phaidros of Sphettos, *IG II² 682*, dates the critical act of bringing in the harvest to the archonship of Kimon (lines 30–36), late spring to early summer of 287. The same inscription indicates that Xenophon was archon in the following year (lines 44–46), and we know that the war was over by the time Diokles was archon (286/5). Demochares returned from exile at this time.¹⁶ The years of this conflict thus occurred while others were serving as archon, so we must seek another date and war for Aristion's archonship.

In addition, there is an important bit of textual evidence to suggest that we are dealing at the time of Aristion's archonship with a war in which the Macedonian garrison and the Eleusinians cooperated against a common foe. Paidikos, the honorand of the inscription, was treasurer or priest of a *thiasos*, a religious association of noncitizens; he is praised in lines 8 to 10 for sacrifices he made with the *dekadarchoi*. Although these officials are little known, Robert has very cogently argued that they are junior-grade officers of the Macedonian garrison.¹⁷ If this is correct, we must seek a date for the inscription when Macedonian soldiers could join with other noncitizens in the religious life of the deme, i.e., when a Macedonian garrison was stationed in Eleusis and not perceived as openly hostile. It is therefore unlikely to fall in 285/4 and 284/3, for these were years during which the Athenians were trying and at last succeeded in recovering Eleusis from the Macedonians.¹⁸ Moreover, the archons Diotimos and Isaïos almost certainly held office in these years.

The archonship of Aristion thus most probably falls after 292/1, Philippos' year, and before the revolt against Demetrios Poliorketes in late spring of 288/7. And there is room, for the archons usually placed in these three years, Charinos, Telokles, and Aristonymos, do not hold unassailable positions in the list, although Charinos does belong to one of these years. He has been placed in the year 291/0, just after Philippos, based on the fact that his secretary came from the eleventh tribe.¹⁹ If a suitable conflict occurred in these years, we should assign Aristion here.

16. *Vit. X Orat.* 851e.

17. "Inscriptions d'Athènes et de la Grèce Centrale" 18–22.

18. *Vit. X Orat.* 851f.

19. See A. G. Woodhead's discussion of Charinos' date, *Agora XVI* 243. I do not think we are in a position, in the current state of our knowledge of the cycles and the list, to assess how strong an argument this is.

We do not need to look far. Indeed, we learn of an attack by the Aitolians into Attica and the seizure of its inhabitants from a hymn addressed to Demetrios and performed at the celebration of the Mysteries after he returned from Corfu.²⁰ The war mentioned on our inscription could well be a reference to this incursion. Moreover, Aitolian presence in strongholds around Delphi blocked Athenian access to the sanctuary and forced Demetrios to celebrate the Pythian games of early 290/89 in Athens.²¹ He then left Athens for Macedonia and soon after in retaliation led an expedition against the Aitolians.²²

The exact chronological sequence of these events is difficult, probably impossible in the current state of our knowledge, to establish. The only firmly fixed point is the celebration of the Pythian games in Athens. They occurred in the month Boukatios in the Delphian calendar, which equals Metageitnion, the second month in the Athenian calendar—i.e., late summer of 290. By this time, the Aitolians were in control of Delphi. It appears most likely that Aristion served as archon for the year 291/0. The Aitolians attacked Attica in this year and seized control of Delphi. Demetrios returned from Corfu that spring. Early in the next year, 290/89, he celebrated at Athens in successive months, the second and third months to be precise, the Pythian games and the Eleusinian Mysteries. Then in the following spring he launched his own campaign against Aitolia.

Alternately, one might argue that the Aitolians first took control of Delphi during 291/0, forcing Demetrios to celebrate the Pythian games of early 290/89 in Athens. They then attacked Attica during Demetrios' absence. He returned from Corfu that spring (289), celebrated the Mysteries in the third month of the next year (289/8), and then launched his retaliatory ex-

20. Athenaios 6.253e–f = FGrH 76 F 13.

Αἰτωλὸς ὅστις ἐπὶ πέτρας καθήμενος
ὥσπερ ἡ παλαία
τὰ σώμαθ' ἡμῶν πάντ' ἀναρπάσας φέρει
κοῦχ' ἔχω μάχεσθαι.

The Aitolian who sits on the cliff
like the Sphinx of old
snatches and carries off all our people
and I cannot fight it.

21. Plutarch *Demetrios* 40.4. J. D. Grainger, *The League of the Aitolians*, Mnemosyne Suppl. 200 (Leiden 1999) 6–7, 90–91, discusses this briefly. He minimizes the Aitolian action, describing it as raids on Demetrios' supply lines. Our inscription, if rightly associated with this conflict, suggests that in the eyes of the Eleusinians the threat was more serious than this.

22. Plutarch, *Demetrios* 40.4, 41.1; *Pyrrhos* 7.3.

pedition. This sequence of events would make Aristion archon during the year 290/89 and would require that the expedition against the Aitolians be placed at the earliest in the autumn of 289. This seems to me less likely.

As this study was about to go to press, a fragmentary text containing the name of a new Athenian archon, [A]mbrosios, had just been published by G. Steinhauer (above 1 n. 1). Using prosopographical arguments and without mentioning Aristion, Steinhauer places Ambrosios in 290/89. Since I think it is certain that Aristion belongs in the years 291/0 to 289/8, since Charinos almost certainly also belongs in one of these years, and since both Telokles and Aristonymos, who are mentioned in the fragments of Epicurus, must predate his death in 271/0, it appears very likely that Ambrosios will eventually prove to date between 270 and 250.

PUBLICATION OF FRAGMENTS
FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

1 (fig. 3). Fragment of grayish white marble with a bit of the molding preserved above the first line, otherwise broken on all sides, found in a modern house wall south of the market square (O 21) on 3 November 1937.

H 0.124 m; W 0.071 m; Th 0.082 m

Height of letters 0.006 m

Inv. no. I 5069

ca. a. 300 a. STOICH.

1 $\overline{\text{OYE}}$
 $\overline{\text{E}}$
illegible traces
 4 $\overline{\text{TE}}$
 $\overline{\text{Y}}$

This is a desperately worn fragment that can be assigned to this cutter by virtue of the appearance of two clearly preserved epsilons that have his idiosyncratic upturned central horizontal. The preserved molding makes it certain that we have the first line. The letters preserved in this line do not conform to any sequence of letters in the opening phrases of an ordinary preamble except for perhaps a name. Since no archon's name during the period when this cutter was active has the sequence of letters YE, this text must have begun with the name of the orator. The letters probably represent the end of the patronymic and the initial letter of the demotic.



Figure 3. Agora I 5069.

This fragment can not be associated with any of this cutter's many known inscriptions.

2 (fig. 4). Fragment of white marble, left edge preserved, recovered from a dump northeast of the market square on 14 September 1951.

H 0.095 m; W 0.083 m; Th 0.032 m

Height of letters 0.007 m

Inv. no. I 6416

ca. a. 300 a. *STOICH.*

¹ Ἰ
 ἩΝ
 Ὑ καὶ Δ[-----χ]-
⁴ ρυσῶι στεφάνωι
 ἈΡΜΙΔ
 . Σ



Figure 4. Agora I 6416.

This is a very fragmentary honorary decree. Line 5 must be part of the proper name [X]αρμίδ[ης], i.e., either the name or the patronymic of the man honored with the gold crown.²³ The order, namely the name coming after the crowning, is quite unusual. Ordinarily, the wording is to praise someone, who is then named, and to crown him: *ἐπαινέσαι τὸν δεῖνα ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῶι στεφάνωι κτλ.* For examples, see *IG* II² 467, 479, 483, 487, 491*b*, 493, 538, and 539. These all date to the last years of the fourth century; and thus they are contemporaneous with the present text. The rare exceptions—that is, decrees that have the turn of phrase *ἐπαινέσαι αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι στεφάνωι τὸν δεῖνα*—are *IG* II² 495, 496 + 507, and *Horos* 4 (1986) 11–18 (= *SEG* 36 no. 164). Each is a decree of citizenship that was proposed by Stratokles of Diomeia for a friend of King Demetrios at the close of the year 303 or 302. It appears highly likely that the present frag-

23. The name *Πολυχαρμίδης* is also possible; it is attested once in Attica (*IG* II² 1558 line 55 = *SEG* 18 no. 36B line 101)—the father of [. .]μόστρατος named in a catalog of silver vessels.

ment preserves the remains of yet another of these decrees. The dossier of these measures steadily grows; it now includes eight others: *IG II*² 486, 597 (+ add. p. 662); *EM* 12962 (*Hesperia* 7 [1938] 297); *Horos* 4 (1986) 11–18 of the year 303; *IG II*² 495, 496 + 507, 497; and *Agora I* 7070 (Osborne, *Naturalization* no. D62 = *Agora XVI* no. 117) of 302.²⁴

One may then tentatively restore the end of line 3 to the beginning of line 5 as [--- στεφανῶσαι χ||ρυσῶι [στεφάνωι κατὰ τὸν νόμον -- ^{ca. 9} -- X||αρμίδ[ου ---]. This gives a line length of about 36 *stoichoi*. Though I can offer no exact restoration, the letters at the beginning of line 3 may refer to the kings in the genitive case [--Ἀντιγόνο]υ καὶ Δ[ημητρίου --].

This cutter has nearly an absolute predilection for a strict *stoichedon* arrangement of the letters of his inscriptions.²⁵ He rarely gave iota anything less than a full *stoichos*. The only exception in a decree is at the end of line 42 in *IG II*² 1241, a place where he seems initially to have omitted a letter. In the long account of the treasurers of Athena and the other gods, *IG II*² 1487aA, he did crowd in iota a few times, apparently to improve word division. Ordinarily, however, the *IG II*² 1262 Cutter evinces no concern about word division and simply places the letters in a *stoichedon* pattern, letting the word breaks come where they will. He thus routinely has widows.

He does not leave blank spaces, except for numerals, in which cases he normally (though not always) leaves them. He does not usually attempt to place the name of the speaker at the beginning of the line for emphasis.²⁶ He did however do it twice (*IG II*² 455 of the year 307 and 504 of 301 B.C.) and on purpose, for he left multiple spaces at the end of the previous line in both instances in order to achieve it. Why he did so in these cases and not others is not immediately apparent. Perhaps some speakers let it be known that they wanted it done (see below 144–146). Unfortunately, the speaker of neither of these decrees is known for certain.

24. *EM* 12962 and *Agora I* 7070 are the work of an inscriber studied below, the Cutter of *IG II*² 478.

25. Only *EM* 12906 (*Hesperia* 7 [1938] 307), the end of an honorary decree, and the inventory *IG II*² 1491B are not *stoichedon*.

26. This is what I term the modified perfect design.

Addenda to the Cutter of IG II² 650

Dates: 318/7–283/2

See ADT 154–159 for a description of this cutter's lettering, a photograph, and a list of inscriptions.

ADDENDA TO LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

IG II ² 500	Archon Nikokles (302/1)
Agora I 3460	Archon Diotimos (285/4). <i>Hesperia</i> 9 (1940) 83; <i>Agora</i> XVI no. 179.

With the assignment of IG II² 500 to this hand we now have one inscription by the II² 650 Cutter securely dated to the years 307 to 302. Nevertheless, it appears that he did most of his work during the first two decades of the third century.¹ He prefers letters 0.007 m in height (i.e., relatively speaking, quite large), and he invariably leaves an interline that is at least the same height as his letters and usually a trifle more. His completed inscriptions, some of them, will have been large, impressive monuments, as for example IG II² 646 with its added relief² and II² 649. Only two of his surviving inscriptions are not *stoichedon*, IG II² 659 and 753. Even in these, he never achieved complete syllabification, though he does approximate it in IG II² 659 by leaving some vacant spaces at line-end. He does not use blank spaces in this way in any other case; indeed he did not normally leave blank spaces.³ Very occasionally he crowds iota into a *stoichos* with another letter.

1. See my discussion of his career, ADT 158–159.

2. C. Lawton, *Attic Document Reliefs: Art and Politics in Ancient Athens* (Oxford 1995) 109–110 no. 59.

3. There is a *vacat* of three letter-spaces after the εἰδοξεν-clause in line 4 of Agora I 5760 (*Hesperia* 30 [1961] 258; *Agora* XVI no. 205). This is unique in his work, as is the apparent use in this inscription of the perfect design.

Addenda to the Cutter of Agora I 4266

Dates: ca. 304–271

The Cutter of Agora I 4266 began work in the last years of the fourth century and continued inscribing down to about the year 270. See ADT 164–169 for a description of his lettering, photograph, and list of inscriptions.

ADDENDA TO LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

Agora I 1918	Archon Ourias (281/0). <i>Hesperia</i> 7 (1938) 107–108; Pritchett-Meritt, <i>Chronology</i> 89–91; Agora XIX no. P52.
Agora I 4330	<i>Hesperia</i> 29 (1960) 29.
Agora I 7587	Archon Nikias (282/1). <i>Hesperia</i> 65 (1996) 252–258.
<i>ArchDelt</i> 18A (1963) 103–105 ¹	Archon Nikias (282/1). SEG 21 no. 525.

1. This inscription preserves a resolution of the knights in praise of the hip-parchs and phylarchs who served during the year 282/1. Agora I 7587 records a very similar motion of the *Tarantinoi* in praise of the same officers. J. Camp in his *editio princeps* of the new Agora inscription ("Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1994 and 1995," *Hesperia* 65 [1996] 254) has pointed out the similarities in language, place of setting up, and place of discovery of these two inscriptions. It is also notable that they were inscribed by the same workman. See Ch. Habicht, "Ein neues Zeugnis der athenischen Kavallerie," *ZPE* 115 (1997) 121–124, for further prosopographical discussion of these officers and R. Parker, "Full Rations for the *Tarantinoi* in Athens," *ZPE* 115 (1997) 136, for discussion of the meaning of *enteleis*.

Thiasotai of Pankrates Unpublished.²
 in praise of Philion
 and Theokomos

The I 4266 Cutter has a marked preference for arranging his letters on the stone *stoichedon*. He either uses a strict pattern or occasionally—influenced, it is clear, by narrow letters such as iota and rho—he slightly modifies it for a few spaces in some lines. He only does this when the line length is 33 *stoichoi* or greater, though he does not invariably do it. See, for example, Agora I 4424 (*Agora* XV no. 71), which has 39 *stoichoi* and, except for one crowding in of iota in line 5, follows a strict *stoichedon* arrangement. When he adopts the strict pattern, he logically must forgo choices concerning word division, for that is one of the corollaries of *stoichedon*. His strictly *stoichedon* inscriptions thus have many widows. When he employs a modified *stoichedon* style, as in the cases of *IG* II² 652, *IG* II² 653, *ArchDelt* 18A (1963) 103–105, and *Agora* I 7587 lines 1–17, or a non-*stoichedon* style, as in *IG* II² 479, *Agora* I 1918, and I 7587 lines 18–43, he strives for better word divisions and usually achieves syllabification. Even in these texts, however, it is notable that he occasionally allows a widow.³ Clearly word division and syllabification were important, but not all important.

This cutter rarely used blank spaces in his decrees and never regularly. He does seem to have had some sensitivity to marking off the clause of ratification, the *ἔδοξεν*-clause, with a preceding blank space or two. In the one preserved instance he left two spaces before it (*Agora* I 4266 line 8 = *Agora* XVI no. 181) and in another two spaces have plausibly been restored (*Agora* I 4424 line 7 = *Agora* XV no. 71). Considerations of line length and spacing also suggest that at least one vacant space should be restored before the clause in line 6 of *IG* II² 653.⁴ His other employments of blank spaces were sometimes around numerals and occasionally to set off proper names.⁵

2. This inscription is mentioned by A. G. Kaloyeropoulou in her article “*Ἀπὸ τὸ Ἱερὸ τοῦ Πανγκράτους στήν Ἀθήνα*,” in *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy*, Athens 1982 (1987) II 300. I am indebted to Dr. Kaloyeropoulou for sharing a photograph of this inscription with me in advance of publication.

3. Line 1 of *IG* II² 653, for example.

4. Note however that he left no such space in either *IG* II² 684 or 704.

5. *ArchDelt* 18A (1963) 103–105 lines 25–32. Around numerals, he uses dots with about equal frequency.

He also used spaces at the ends of lines in the lower part of Agora I 7587 to achieve syllabification. In the five cases where we can observe his practice he did not use the perfect design.

In two cases, this cutter inscribed a text of which there is a second copy known by another cutter. He inscribed IG II² 479 and II² 663; the second versions are II² 480, by a hand as yet unknown to me, and II² 662, by the Cutter of Agora I 3238. In both cases enough text survives to reveal that only one copy was commissioned by the city. It is, therefore, most probable that one of the two surviving copies was privately commissioned.⁶ One cannot really say in either case which one. It is notable, however, that of the present cutter's known decrees for the city, only IG II² 479 is not *stoichedon*. It is also one of his earliest pieces. The man who inscribed IG II² 480 cut it with a *stoichedon* arrangement and used white marble whereas our cutter used, as he was wont to do, gray.⁷ Each copy had approximately the same number of letters per line—II² 480 has 38; II² 479 varies, but most lines have 37 to 39 letters. But when whole, the two inscriptions were not close in size. The lettering of II² 479 by the present cutter, the I 4266 Cutter, is slightly larger and more liberally spaced, both vertically and horizontally, than the lettering of II² 480,⁸ with the result that the inscribed surface area of II² 479 was originally on the order of 20 percent greater than that of II² 480.

IG II² 662 (fig. 5) and 663 (fig. 6) may be similarly compared. II² 662 is one of the earliest inscriptions of the I 3238 Cutter (below 96), while II² 663 is a mature work of the present cutter. Both are inscribed *stoichedon* on gray marble, but the details of spacing and line length differ quite dramatically. II² 663 has 30 letters per line; II² 662 has 43 letters per line.

6. A. G. Woodhead in the commentary to his new edition of IG II² 662 in *Agora* XVI (p. 247, on no. 172) assumes, I think implausibly, that II² 663 was a second official copy independently provided for the Sanctuary of Aglauros.

7. I commented on this in ADT 169, where I observed that just two of his fourteen known texts were inscribed on white marble. That was wrong, for I mistakenly followed Kirchner's description of the marble of IG II² 716 as "Pentelic." It is in fact dark gray, as is IG II² 1226, which belongs with it. I have examined the latter in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York thanks to the kindness of Joan Mertens, curator of ancient Greek art.

Of the newly assigned inscriptions, one, I 7587, is white marble and one, the unpublished *thiasotai* text, is unknown. The totals for this cutter are now sixteen gray or dark gray, two white, one unknown.

8. IG II² 480 has 19 lines in 20 cm of vertical space while II² 479 has 16; the former has 9 letters per 10 cm on the horizontal while the latter has 8.



Figure 5. IG II² 662b.

The letters too of the latter are slightly smaller and more crowded.⁹ Both stelai would originally have been about 40 cm wide. The text on II² 663 required vertical surface space of about 65 cm while that of II² 662 needed

9. II² 663 has letters that are 0.006 m in height and *ca.* 8 letters on the average for every 10 cm on the horizontal, while II² 662 has letters 0.005 m in height and 11 per 10 cm.

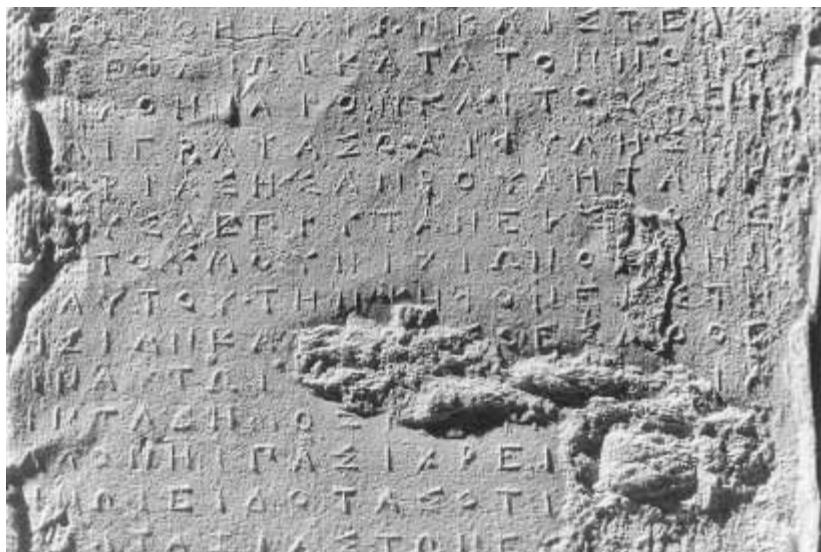


Figure 6. IG II² 663 lines 18–32.

less, about 48 cm. Thus, the original height of II² 662 is likely to have been considerably less than that of II² 663. Even so, the interlines on II² 662 are much more liberal—0.009 m as against 0.005 or a bit less for II² 663.

It is my assumption that though there were inevitably expectations about the final appearance of a decree, the cutter determined the type of stone to be used, the letter-size, and the precise details of spacing and layout of each text that he inscribed. Although we may have our preferences,¹⁰ we have no way of knowing in either of these cases which copy was commissioned by the state and which privately. One suspects, however, that the larger monuments, IG II² 479 and IG II² 663, the ones by the I 4266 Cutter under discussion here, were commissioned by the person honored.

The existence of these private copies raises the interesting question of whether any restrictions governed the creation of such copies. Could anyone honored with a decree set up a copy at his own expense if he wanted? In two other instances in this period, we encounter two copies of the same decree: (1) IG II² 666 and 667, honors and citizenship for the soldier Strom-

10. In the case of II² 662 (by the I 3238 Cutter) and 663 (by the present cutter), the large interline to my eye makes the former—the more compact text with smaller letters—the easier to read.

bichos; (2) IG II² 672 and EM 12967 (*Hesperia* 10 [1941] 338–339), honors for Komeas of Lamptraï, hipparch on Lemnos.¹¹ The latter rendered signal service to Athenian liberty as an envoy to King Seleukos (II² 672 lines 39–41), while the former fought for Athenian safety and liberty in the revolt against Demetrios Poliorketes (II² 666 lines 11–14).

Similarly, Artemidoros, the honorand of IG II² 662 and 663, had effectively dealt on behalf of the Athenians with King Lysimachos (II² 662 lines 8–13) at the time of the revolt from Demetrios Poliorketes.¹² The herakleot honored by IG II² 479 and 480 also acted during a time of war in the interests of Athenian safety (II² 480 lines 17–24). It is of some interest that these cases all focus on actions described as securing the safety and freedom of the Athenians. Could it be, then, that the right to set up a private copy was not inherent, but was reserved for individuals whose actions were considered crucial to the continued existence of the *demos*?

11. II² 666, 667, and 672 were all inscribed by the Cutter of Agora I 3238 (below 80–98); EM 12967 is the handiwork of an inscriber as yet unknown to me ("Two Attic Letter Cutters of the Third Century: 286/5–235/4 B.C.," *Hesperia* 57 [1988] 309).

12. There is also, as Ch. Habicht ("Beiträge zur Prosopographie der altgriechischen Welt," *Chiron* 2 [1972] 107–109) recognized, an Ephesian decree in his honor (*I. Ephesos* 1464).

The Cutter of IG II² 478

Dates: 305/4–302/1

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LETTERING (FIGS. 7–8)

Plain lettering done rather quickly—that is the dominant impression of this cutter's writing. He frequently omits strokes and makes an unusual variety of shapes in some letters, particularly phi and omega. Most of his other letters are quite uniform from example to example.

PECULIARITIES OF INDIVIDUAL LETTERS

<i>Alpha</i>	This letter is quite wide; the slanting strokes usually meet at the apex quite exactly. The crossbar is very often not inscribed.
<i>Epsilon</i>	The three horizontals tend to be thicker at their ends and end roughly at the same place. Sometimes the top stroke is the shortest. The central stroke often does not touch the vertical and occasionally angles perceptibly downward.
<i>Nu</i>	The diagonal often meets the second vertical at a small, but distinct, interval up from the bottom.
<i>Omikron</i>	This letter is cut with a furrowing technique and is at times incised somewhat deeper than the other letters. It is not really very round, but was cut in two segments corresponding roughly to the upper half and the lower. Sometimes the two halves do not



Figure 7. IG II² 478d.

quite join precisely. The letter varies in size but is usually a little smaller than other letters and is placed in about the middle of the letter-space.

Rho

The loop is quite large and reasonably round. The cutter often does not complete the loop and, when inscribing rather small letters (i.e., *ca.* 0.006 m in height), normally incised only the upper half.

Sigma

This letter is made from four long strokes; the lower half is somewhat larger than up-

Figure 8. IG II² 478e.

per. It is normally about the same height as the other letters. Occasionally the cutter widens the angles, particularly of the lower half, so that the letter extends above and below the line of letters.

Phi

This letter is a bit taller than the others. This workman executes the central part either with two lightly incised parallel lines, or with a single stroke that usually curves (though occasionally it is straight), or with a complete oval.

Omega

This letter varies in width and is sometimes quite thin. It starts at the baseline and normally rises to nearly the height of the letters. The bottom is left open, sometimes only a little. One side, usually the left, can extend down below the other. When very thin, its shape resembles that of a bobby pin. Occasionally, the cutter takes the time to

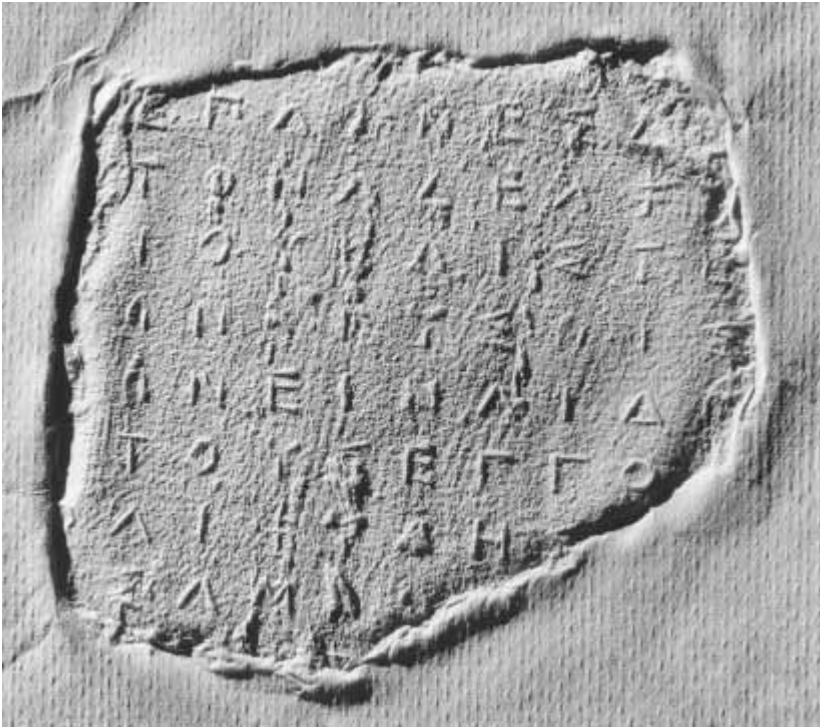


Figure 9. IG II² 541.

add small horizontal finials that are placed slightly up from the bottoms of the strokes to which they are attached.

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

IG II² 478
(figs. 7–8)

Archon [Euxeni]ppos (305/4). O.W. Reinmuth, *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.* (Leiden 1971) no. 17.

IG II² 541
(fig. 9)

Osborne, *Naturalization* no. D52.¹

1. For M.B. Walbank's erroneous assignment of this inscription and Agora I 5972 and I 1441 to another cutter, see ADT 148–149.



Figure 10. Agora I 5972 lines 10–26.

IG II² 595

Agora I 937

Agora I 5972
(fig. 10)
and I 1441

Agora I 7070
and I 5463

EM 12699

Archon Leostr[at]os (303/2). *Hesperia* 9 (1940) 351; Agora XVI no. 118.

For a new edition, see A.G. Woodhead in *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson* (Thessaloniki 1981) 359–360, 407 (photograph). Ch. Habicht, “Zum Text eines athenischen Volksbeschlusses von 304/3 v. Chr.,” *Hesperia* 59 (1990) 463–466 has discussed the restoration of this text. Agora XVI no. 114.

Archon [Leostratos] (303/2). Osborne, *Naturalization* no. D62. M. B. Walbank associated Agora I 5463 (*Hesperia* 58 [1989] 88–89). Agora XVI no. 117.

Archon Nikokle[s] (302/1). *Hesperia* 1 (1932) 45 (photograph).

+EM 12962² Archon [Pherekles] (304/3). *Hesperia* 7
(1938) 297–298 (photograph).

ADNOTATIUNCULA

EM 12962

Between lines 1 and 2 there is a vacant space of *ca.* 0.13 m.

This cutter inscribed his texts in a strict *stoichedon* pattern. He shows no tendency toward syllabification. His interlines are the same as the height of his letters or just a little less. He did not use the perfect design but tended to leave spaces before the name of the speaker. Otherwise he did not normally leave blank spaces in his decrees.³

2. By a misprint, the number in *Hesperia* is recorded incorrectly as EM 12952.

3. There is a space, not quite a full one, left before the numeral in line 22 of Agora I 5972 and I 1441 (*Agora* XVI no. 114). That area is erased, and it is unclear what exactly has occurred. Cutters of this time often place spaces or dots around numerals.

The Cutter of IG II² 657

Dates: ca. 305 – ca. 275

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LETTERING (FIG. 11)

The mature lettering of this workman is neat and regular. His long strokes, particularly verticals and diagonals, often curve or bend slightly. He occasionally omits strokes—for instance, one of the finials at the base of omega. Moreover, the overlapping of certain strokes—a feature of his lettering that we might regard as carelessness—is done quite consistently; thus, the overlapping of the left slanting stroke beyond the right in letters with an apex (i.e., alpha, delta, lambda, and the right half of mu) appears to be a deliberate mannerism. Indeed, it is one of the hallmarks of his style.

PECULIARITIES OF INDIVIDUAL LETTERS

Alpha

This is a wide letter, indeed slightly wider than it is tall; it often has a distinct overlap at the top. The same is true of delta and lambda. The crossbar has a tendency to cut through the left slanting stroke and usually slants down from left to right. Its placement varies from about midpoint to slightly above or slightly below.

Epsilon

The top and bottom horizontals are long, often longer than the vertical. The central horizontal is usually very short and often does not quite join the vertical. It occasionally has a perceptible downward slant.

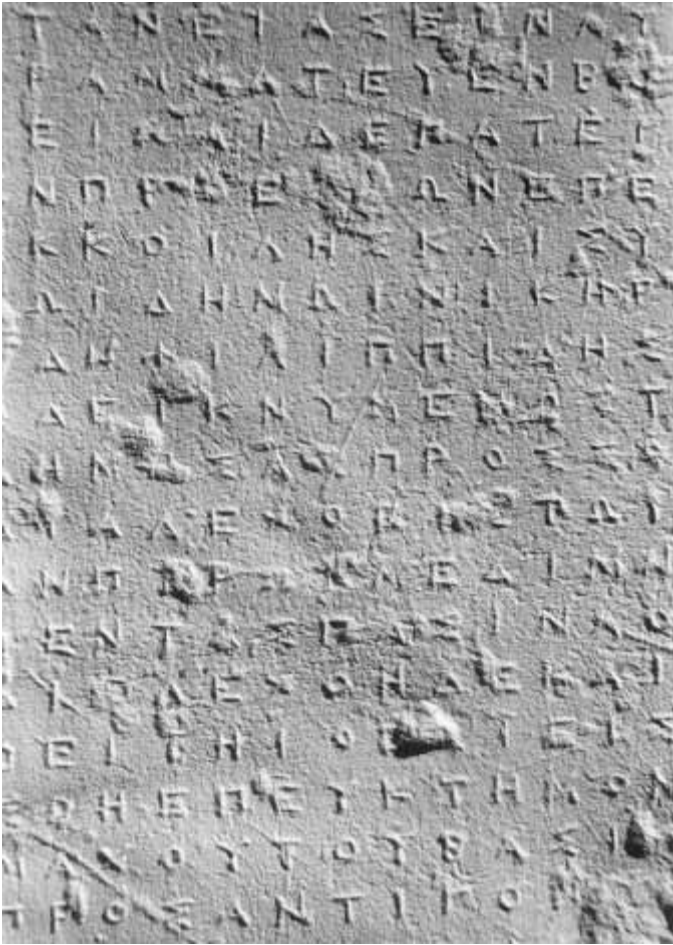


Figure 11. IG II² 657 lines 2–18.

Kappa

The lower slanting stroke does not reach the base of the letter and sometimes tends toward being horizontal.

Mu

The outer strokes are sometimes perpendicular. The right central slanting stroke often joins the other above its end and extends markedly beyond the right vertical.

Nu

The initial vertical often slants in or curves slightly. The diagonal is placed slightly be-

low the top of the first vertical and joins the second at its base. The second vertical is raised up slightly from the base line and extends a little above the top of the first vertical.

Omikron

This letter, though it varies some in size, is definitely rather small when compared to the other letters and is placed in the upper part of the letter-space. While not awkward in appearance, its circumference does not describe a clean, smooth circle but meanders some.

Pi

The second vertical is shorter than the first; it extends down from the top of the letter about three-quarters of the way to the base. About half the time the horizontal stroke extends just slightly beyond the second vertical.

Upsilon

The *v* at the top of this letter comprises less than half the height of the letter. Sometimes the strokes that form it are straight, but more often one or both curve, sometimes markedly. The two strokes that make the *v* do not usually meet the vertical at the same angle.

Phi

This letter is the same height as the other letters. The central part is made with an arc that is placed at about midpoint on the vertical so that the outer ends of the arc as they curve down approach the bottom of the letter. The arc is occasionally closed with a light straight stroke.

Omega

The round part of omega is, as it were, extended upward to the height of the letter-space. The rounded top is about the size of this cutter's omikron. The left side is not infrequently straight or almost straight; the right describes a gradual curve to the bottom of the letter. It often extends down

slightly farther than the left. Horizontal finials of roughly the same size are attached at right and left, though the right one has a tendency to be a tad longer. The letter is left open at the bottom.

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

IG II ² 656 and addendum p. 662	Archon Isaïos (284/3). <i>Agora</i> XV no. 69. Kirchner-Klaffenbach, <i>Imagines</i> ² no. 77.
IG II ² 657 ¹ (fig. 11)	Archon Euthios (283/2). Bielman, <i>Retour</i> no. 20; Bringmann, <i>Schenkungen</i> no. 6. Kirchner-Klaffenbach, <i>Imagines</i> ² no. 78.
IG II ² 725 and addendum p. 666	Peçirka, <i>Enktesis</i> 101–102.
IG II ² 815	
IG II ² 1163 (fig. 12)	Archon Isaïos (284/3).
IG II ² 2411	Part of <i>Agora</i> I 5105, <i>q.v.</i>
IG II ² 2427	Part of <i>Agora</i> I 5105, <i>q.v.</i>
IG II ² 2430	
<i>Agora</i> I 1524	Archon Diotimos (285/4). <i>Hesperia</i> 15 (1946) 156–158; <i>Agora</i> XVI no. 180.
<i>Agora</i> I 1804 + 1870	<i>Agora</i> XV no. 105.
<i>Agora</i> I 3825	Archon [Diot]imos (285/4). Published below.
<i>Agora</i> I 4038	Part of <i>Agora</i> I 5105, <i>q.v.</i>
<i>Agora</i> I 5105 (fig. 13)	<i>Agora</i> XV no. 72 (bouletic list of 281/o). ²

1. This inscription honors the poet Philippides of Kephale for representing Athenian interests at the court of Lysimachos. See J. Kralli, "Athens and Her Leading Citizens in the Early Hellenistic Period (338–261 B.C.)," *Ἀρχαιογνωσία* 10 (1999–2000) 151–152, for discussion of Philippides' career.

2. J. S. Traill in his initial publication of this list, "The Bouletic List of 281/o," *Hesperia* 38 (1969), discerned the work of two masons, Mason A and Mason B (pp. 465–466). He assigned to Mason B the bottom of the third column and all of the fourth. It is my opinion that the lettering of most of the fourth column—i.e., fragments I–K–O and Q—is identical with that on the rest of the fragments. The lettering on fragments R and Y from the bottom of column III and X from the bottom of IV does have a slightly different character. The upper elements of the upstrokes on fragments R and Y do not curve and some of the letters, particularly the alphas and pis in lines 92–94, jostle around in the letter-space; on fragment X the



Figure 12. IG II² 1163 lines 13–27.

Agora I 5173

Agora XVI no. 62 and pl. 7. If my attribution is correct, A. G. Woodhead's date, "*ca. med. saec. IV a.*," is a half a century or more too early.

Agora I 5256

Agora XVI no. 134 and pl. 15.

Agora I 5391

Published below.

Agora I 6704

Part of Agora I 5105, *q.v.*

+Agora I 6731

Archon [--]ratos. W.K. Pritchett, *ZPE* 20 (1976) 189–191 (photograph, pl. VIIc); *SEG* 26 no. 93; Agora XVI no. 189.

single upsilon preserved does not have a curving top and four of the six preserved sigmas have parallel, or nearly parallel, top and bottom strokes. Otherwise, the shapes of the letters on these fragments, particularly those of alpha, mu, nu, phi, and omega, are completely characteristic of this cutter. It is my opinion, then, that we are here dealing not with a different hand (as Traill naturally thought), but with the kinds of changes in a cutter's lettering that occur when he is working quickly or when he is very tired and not quite himself. As far as I can tell, in short, the lettering of this text is all the work of one man. In any case, the lettering on fragments L and W, which Traill assigned to the second cutter (his Mason B), is in my opinion entirely characteristic of this cutter, whom Traill calls Mason A.



Figure 13. Agora I 5105z = Agora XV no. 72 lines 55–68.

INSCRIPTIONS IN THE STYLE OF³

+IG II² 513
(fig. 16, below)

For a new text, see M.J. Osborne, *ZPE* 42 (1981) 172–174 (= *SEG* 31 no. 84).⁴

IG II² 743

Agora I 5151⁵

Agora XV no. 84. In his archon list of 1981, B. D. Meritt, "Mid-Third-Century Athenian Archons," *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 95, dissociated this text from the archon Lykeas

3. This category applies "to fragments which I feel were inscribed by the cutter in question, but the lettering shows sufficient deviation from the norm that I do not feel that the inscription can be placed in the dossier with no warning" (*ALC* 6). (See below for a description of the lettering of II² 513 and II² 743.) I also include under this rubric a number of inscriptions whose lettering is characteristic, but whose surface is sufficiently weathered or worn that one must admit some degree of uncertainty.

4. The payment official on this text, [τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ] δήμου, indicates a date not later than 302/1.

5. This stone was reused as a threshold block and is fearfully worn. The shapes of the letters that can be discerned strongly suggest that this text was the work of the present cutter.

and placed it in 255/4, based on his reading of the demotic of the secretary in line 1 as Mar[athonios]. I am unable to read any letter for certain in this line after the final up-silon of the patronymic.

PUBLICATION OF FRAGMENTS FROM THE
ATHENIAN AGORA

1 (fig. 14). Fragment of gray marble, top (flat) preserved with molding, found in fill on top of terrace wall of the Stoa of Attalos opposite shop XIV (P 9) on 19 March 1936.

H 0.072 m; W 0.174 m; Th 0.033 m

Height of letters 0.006 m

Inv. no. I 3825

a. 285/4 *a.*

[ἐπὶ Διοτρίμου ἄρχ[οντος ἐπὶ ----]

The top third of a vertical stroke appears before mu; it is 0.015 m from the center of mu. It occurs in the middle of its letter-space; thus dotted iota is almost certain. One cannot completely rule out eta and with it the archons Mnesidemos (298/7) and Peithidemos (268/7),⁶ but they are much less likely.

2 (fig. 15). Fragment of white marble, face only preserved, found in silted floor of a revetted basin south of the Eleusinion (T 21) on 15 April 1938.

H 0.069 m; W 0.039 m; Th. 0.011 m

Height of letters 0.008 m

Inv. no. I 5391

ca. a. 290 *a.* *STOICH.*

ΕΝΑ
ΤΟΥ
ΚΑ
ΣΩ

6. On Peithidemos' date, see M.J. Osborne, "Philinos and the Athenian Archons of the 250s B.C.," in *Polis and Politics: Studies in Ancient Greek History Presented to M.H. Hansen*, ed. P. Flensted-Jensen, T.H. Nielsen, and L. Rubinstein (Copenhagen 2000) 516 n. 2.



Figure 14. Agora I 3825.

ADNOTATIUNCULAE

Agora I 6731

Pritchett offers a conservative text ("Non-Evidence for the Omitted Day," *ZPE* 20 [1976] 191) and notes that neither margin is preserved. We cannot, it seems, know with certainty how many letters are lost in the archon's name. Taking a thirty-year period—namely, fifteen years on either side of the year 280—the following archons could be restored in line 2 of this text: Nikostratos (295/4), Philokrates (276/5),⁷ Pytharatos (271/0), and Sosi-stratos (270/69). While Pritchett in the above-mentioned article discounted Pytharatos as possible based on the horizontal spacing, I note that this cutter sometimes spaces out letters on the horizontal unevenly;⁸ thus I do not think that one can exclude Pytharatos. Following Meritt,⁹ Woodhead at

7. Anaxikrates (279/8) might also be possible; but, in the few cases we have, the full form of the genitive, *Ἀναξικράτους*, was employed. For *Φιλοκράτου*, see *IG* II² 685 line 1.

8. Agora I 1524 (= Agora XVI no. 180), for example, is spaced out more liberally on the left than on the right (W.K. Pritchett, *Hesperia* 15 [1946] 157).

9. "The Archonship of Pytharatos (271/0)," *AAA* 9 (1976) 193–197.



Figure 15. Agora I 5391.

Agora XVI no. 189 prints [Ἐπὶ Πυθ]αράτου. I cannot myself see, after careful examination of the stone, any certain trace of a letter before the rho. (For the likelihood that this text is an early example of this cutter's work, see further below.)

IG II² 513 line 1 (fig. 16)

After autopsy of the stone, Osborne ("Some Attic Inscriptions," *ZPE* 42 [1981] 172–174) very tentatively suggested in line 1 [Λυκούρ]γον Ἀ[νικόφρονος]. His suggestion was based largely on the observation that the honors were extraordinary and thus Lykourgos was an excellent candidate to be their recipient. Scholars have embraced this notion, and this

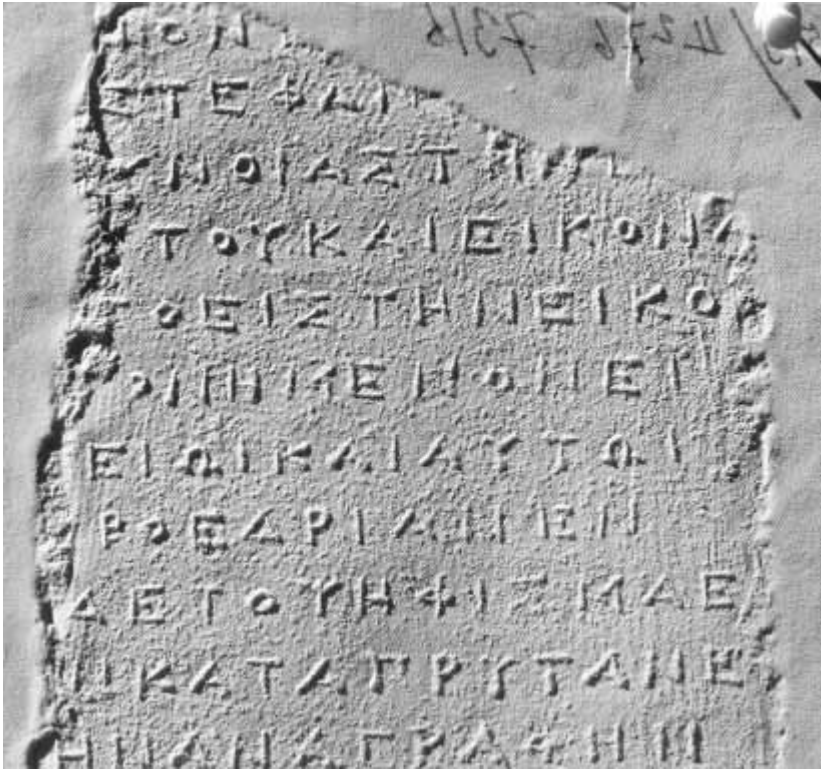


Figure 16. IG II² 513 lines 1–11.

inscription has now become part of the evidence in any discussion of Lykourgos.¹⁰

Based on the available evidence (autopsy and squeezes at the Institute for Advanced Study), the reading of these dotted letters cannot, I think, be sustained.¹¹ Osborne describes the traces as follows: "Before omikron there

10. See A. N. Oikonomides, "The Epigraphical Tradition of the Decree of Stratonkeles Honoring *Post Mortem* the Orator Lycourgos, IG II² 457 and IG II² 513," *AncW* 14 (1986) 51–54; A. P. Matthaiou, "Ἡρίον Λυκούργου Λυκόφρονος Βουτάδου," *Horos* 5 (1987) 31–43; and M. Faraguna in *Atene nell' età di Alessandro* (Rome 1992) chaps. 2 and 3.

11. While never discounting the advantage and desirability of autopsy, one should not forget that stones in handling inevitably suffer wear or damage, particularly along the edges. Squeezes made fifty to sixty years ago may well offer a better witness in these crucial places than autopsy. In the present instance, the squeezes do not offer any more than what is still visible on the stone.

is an upright, but there is possibly a trace of an upper horizontal stroke to the right; after nu there is the bottom tip of a letter" (p. 173 n. 3). There is indeed a vertical stroke before omikron; it is complete to its top and the surface to the right at the top is preserved. I see no possible trace of the top-most horizontal; therefore, I do not think that the letter was gamma. I note further that the only gamma preserved on this fragment (in line 11) has a top stroke that is as long as the vertical and it is deeply cut. The stroke before omikron is iota, as J. Kirchner (following Koehler) records it, the second vertical of eta (unlikely given the context), or nu.

In the place where Osborne reads dotted lambda, there appears just at the edge of the break the lower third of what seems to be a vertical stroke joined on its right side at the bottom by a short segment of what may be a slanting stroke. Although this text is not *stoichedon*, the letters in this line occur directly above the letters in the line below. The vertical appears in the center of the letter-space directly above the vertical of phi in the line below. This entire complex may be damage to the stone, for it does not conform to any letter-shape made by this cutter. If one ignores the vertical, one could possibly interpret the short slanting segment as the lower part of the left slanting stroke of lambda; if, on the other hand, one ignores the rather short slanting stroke as the scratch that it is likely to be, the letter in question is more probably tau, iota, or epsilon. I therefore read line 1 of this text as *IONT*.

The lettering of *IG II*² 513 and of *IG II*² 743 shares all the basic peculiarities described above: overlapping strokes, curving top of epsilon, and idiosyncratic placement of the diagonal of nu. However, the general character of the writing of these two pieces is uncharacteristically sloppy. Strokes do not meet precisely. Alpha, mu, and nu are wider than on the other inscriptions and the top stroke of sigma tends to be horizontal instead of clearly slanting.¹² If I am correct in assigning *IG II*² 513 to this workman, the lettering on it represents an early example of his writing (ca. 305). At that time his lettering was sloppy in appearance and not neat, viz. the way he was inscribing by the year 285. The letters of *Agora I* 6731 (*Agora XVI* no. 189) are rather neatly made, but the sigma in line 3 has a top stroke that is horizontal. Except for *IG II*² 513 and 743, sigmas of this shape rarely occur

12. The lettering of these two is so similar that I at first suspected there was a join between them. There is none and I do not think they can derive from the same inscription.

in his later work. This then may suggest an early date for this text and thus the archon in question may be [Nikost]ratos, archon during the year 295/4.

This cutter, based on the sample of his work surviving to us, inscribed roughly half of his texts *stoichedon*. When that is the case, he follows the pattern strictly and thus has no syllabification, except of course by accident, and many widows. When he produced texts that did not follow a *stoichedon* pattern, he quite consistently strove for syllabification. To this end he made use of blank spaces at line end. He only employed *vacats* there, never in the body of his texts. He does not make use of the perfect design.

The Cutter of IG II² 689

Dates: 305/4 – ca. 270

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LETTERING (FIGS. 17–18)

This cutter employs thin strokes and inscribes his letters rather lightly. Moreover, strokes rather frequently overlap or do not meet precisely. The lettering has an evanescent, somewhat sloppy, quality.

PECULIARITIES OF INDIVIDUAL LETTERS

Alpha

This letter is relatively wide; one or the other slanting stroke extends a bit past the other at the apex. The crossbar is placed around the midpoint and sometimes bends a little.

Epsilon

The vertical often extends above and below the horizontals. The horizontals so vary in length and in placement with respect to one another that almost no two epsilons are alike. The central horizontal is usually somewhat shorter than the other two.

Kappa

The slanting strokes of this letter are unusually short and sometimes cross one another just before they meet the vertical. In one case they curve and in several the lower is much shorter than the upper. The variety is very striking. This letter is one of this cutter's most idiosyncratic.

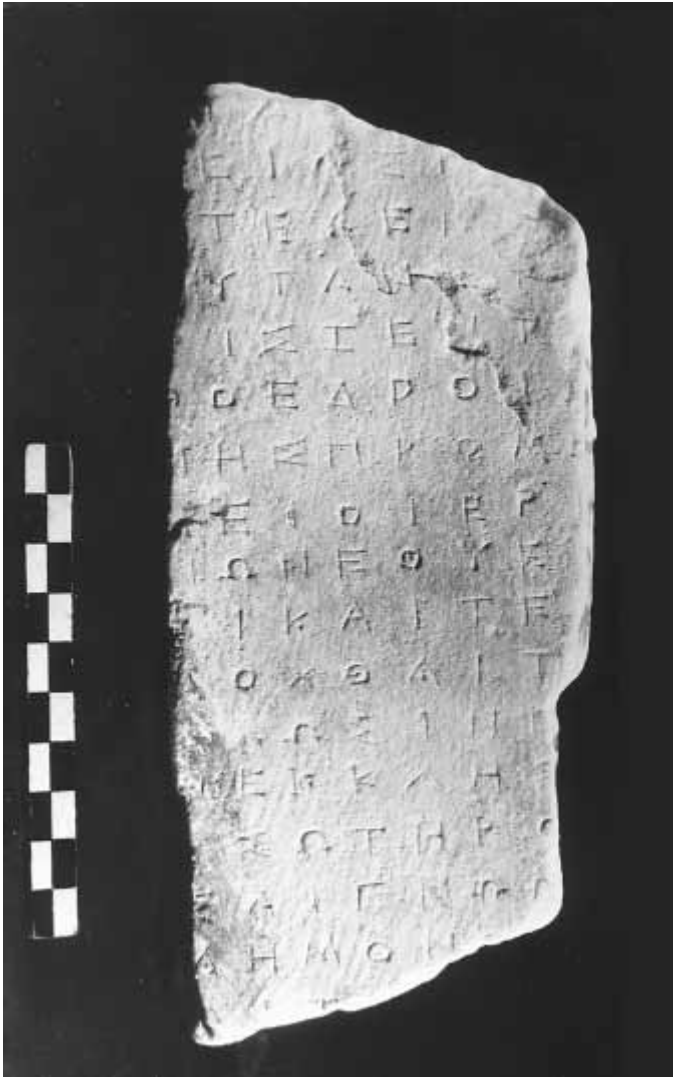


Figure 17. IG II² 689a.

Omikron

This letter varies in size but is usually somewhat smaller than the other letters and is placed in the middle or lower part of the letter-space. It is usually made from a number of straight strokes and has a squarish appearance.



Figure 18. *IG II² 689b*.

<i>Rho</i>	The loop varies from rather small to rather large and is quite often made with straight segments.
<i>Upsilon</i>	This letter is composed of three strokes. The vertical is no more than half the height of the letter. The surmounting $\vee$ is quite wide and large. The left slanting stroke sometimes cuts through and across the vertical.
<i>Omega</i>	This letter is reasonably round, somewhat less tall than the others, and open at the bottom with short horizontals to right and left. The left one tends to be larger. The letter sits more or less on the baseline.

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

IG II ² 689 and addendum p. 665 (figs. 17–18)	Archon [.]ide[s]. For the restoration of the opening lines, see B.D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," <i>Hesperia</i> 26 (1957) 55; on the calendar equation see now J.D. Morgan, "Determination of the Calendar Equation of IG II ² 689 and MA 14906," <i>Horos</i> 10–12 (1992–1998) 49–51. A.P. Matthaiou, " <i>Νέο θραῦσμα τῆς IG II² 689</i> ," <i>Horos</i> 10–12 (1992–1998) 29–42, has added a new fragment that joins at the upper left (<i>SEG</i> 46 no. 134). He does not restore Lysitheides (272/1) as the archon, but suggests that others are also possible, e.g., Arrheneides (262/1) or Philippides (269/8).
IG II ² 690 (fig. 19)	D. Peppas-Delmousou, <i>ArchDelt</i> 29B (1973–1974) 17, has joined EM 12814 to this (= <i>SEG</i> 29 no. 103).
+IG II ² 711	
IG II ² 797 and addendum p. 667 (fig. 20)	Archon [Euxenippos] (305/4). See <i>Hesperia</i> 32 (1963) 358 (= <i>SEG</i> 21 no. 337) for some improved readings.



Figure 19. IG II² 690 lines 2–13.

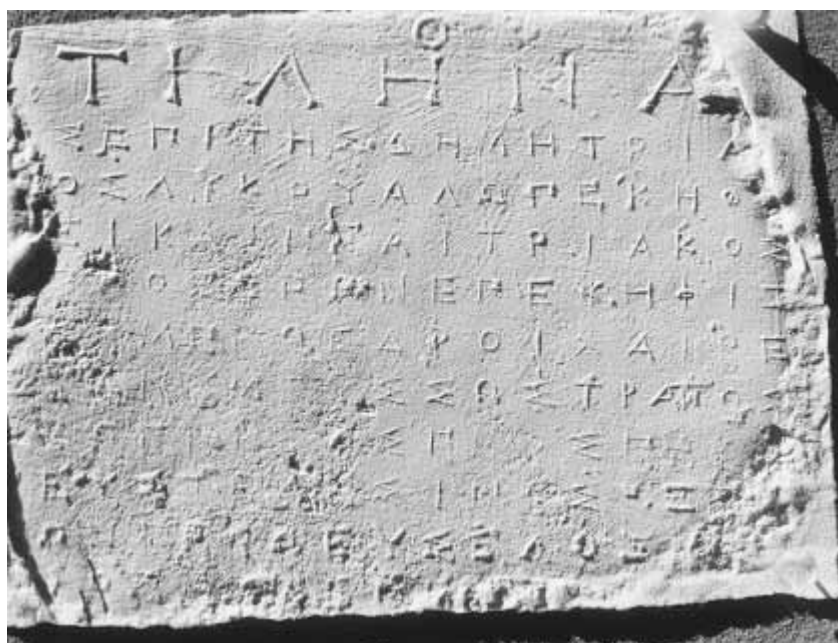


Figure 20. IG II² 797.

ADNOTATIUNCULA

IG II² 711

The stone is preserved blank for 0.13 m below line 13.

Thus far we have only four inscriptions from this workman's hand, with a temporal spread of roughly thirty-five years. The four all reveal a striking regularity. All have letters and interlines about 0.006 m in height; all are *stoichedon*. None shows syllabification and none has a blank space. In the only inscription where enough survives so that we can ascertain his practice with certainty, IG II² 689, the cutter did not use the perfect design or emphasize the speaker in any way.

The Cutter of Agora I 3238 and 4169

Dates: 286/5 – ca. 239

This cutter, the most prolific of his era, has a very distinctive style of lettering that I have studied and illustrated previously.¹ He was a very careful workman who made few inscribing errors. He usually inscribed letters that are rather small (ca. 0.005 m) with liberal interlinear spacing. With the exception of omega, he regularly inscribed omikron, theta, the loop of rho, and the central part of phi with straight strokes. The central part of phi, for example, is usually a neat rectangle (fig. 21).

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

(Asterisked inscriptions are new to the dossier.)

IG II ² 525 and 675 (figs. 22–23)	W. K. Pritchett published a new text in <i>AJP</i> 58 (1937) 329–333. Bringmann, <i>Schenkungen</i> no. 10. On the date, see S. V. Tracy, “Two Attic Letter-Cutters of the Third Century: 286/5–235/4 B.C.,” <i>Hesperia</i> 57 (1988) 307–308. ²
IG II ² 661	Archon Menekles (267/6)
IG II ² 662 (fig. 5)	Archon Diokles (286/5). Agora I 6560 belongs. Osborne, <i>Naturalization</i> no. D74A;

1. “Identifying Epigraphical Hands II,” *GRBS* 14 (1973) 190–192 and pl. 4; “Two Attic Letter Cutters of the Third Century,” *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 304–311 and pl. 85.

2. The only way to reconcile the date with the career of the cutter—if these fragments must date, as the payment official, the treasurer of the people, makes it evident they must, to the late fourth century—is to suppose that the copy we have is a later reinscription of honors passed in the year 306/5. See also A. S. Henry’s discussion of the dating of this text (“Athenian Financial Officials after 303 B.C.,” *Chiron* 14 [1984] 58–60). IG II² 675d (fig. 23) is by this cutter and is part of this text.

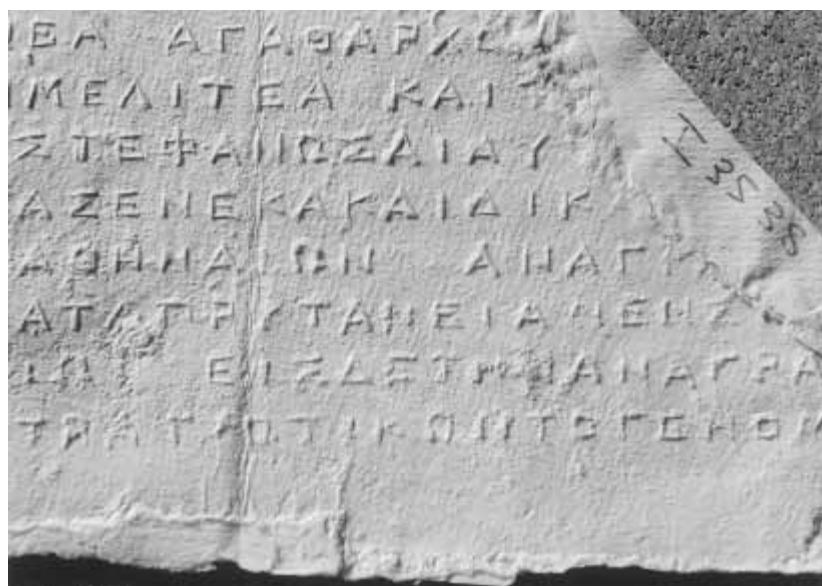


Figure 21. Agora I 3238 lines 6–13.



Figure 22. IG II² 525.

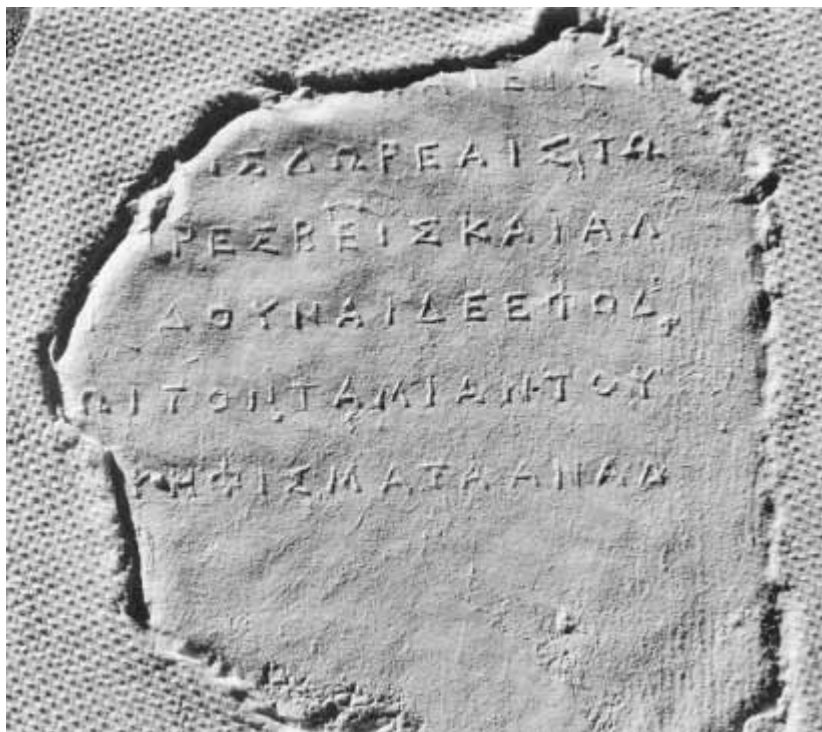


Figure 23. IG II² 675d.

- Agora XVI no. 172. For the association of IG II² 760, *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 308 (= SEG 38 no. 71).
- IG II² 664 Archon Menekles (267/6).
- IG II² 665 Archon Nikias Otryneus (266/5). For the additions of Agora I 3370 and I 6801, *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 306–307 (= SEG 38 no. 78).
- IG II² 666 Archon [Nikias] Otryne[us] (266/5). Osborne, *Naturalization* no. D78A. Kirchner-Klaffenbach, *Imagines*² no. 83.
- IG II² 667 Osborne, *Naturalization* no. D78B.
- IG II² 668 (fig. 52 below) Archon Nikias Otryneus (266/5).
- IG II² 670 Archon [Gorgias] (280/79). *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 308–309 (= SEG 38 no. 75).

- IG II² 672 Archon [Anaxikrates] (279/8). See EM 12909 below for new joining pieces.
- IG II² 677 Kirchner-Klaffenbach, *Imagines*² no. 85.
- IG II² 686 + 687 Archon Peithidemos (268/7). Schmitt, *Staatsverträge* no. 476. Kirchner-Klaffenbach, *Imagines*² no. 84. On the date, see Tracy, "Two Attic Letter Cutters" 309, and above 68 n. 6.
- * IG II² 697 Archon [Philinos] (259/8). S. Dow published a much improved text in *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 354 and pl. 84. On the archon and the restoration of the opening lines, see B. D. Meritt, "Philinos and Menekrates," *Hesperia* 38 (1969) 433–434.
- * IG II² 698 (fig. 24)
- IG II² 700 Archon Thymochares (257/6). Agora I 2054 belongs; for the complete text, see *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 110–114.
- IG II² 707 Osborne, *Naturalization* no. D88; *SEG* 40 no. 90.
- IG II² 712 Osborne, *Naturalization* no. D79.
- IG II² 717 Osborne, *Naturalization* no. D83. See Agora I 5466 below for an additional piece.
- IG II² 718 + 804 Osborne, *Naturalization* no. D80.
- IG II² 724
- IG II² 728
- IG II² 746 Bielman, *Retour* no. 60.
- IG II² 772 Archon Diogeiton (ca. 240). Sokolowski, *LSCG* no. 40. Kirchner-Klaffenbach, *Imagines*² no. 82.
- IG II² 777 Archon Kallimedes (253/2).
- IG II² 780 (fig. 55 below) Archon Thersilochos (251/0). Kirchner-Klaffenbach, *Imagines*² no. 88.
- IG II² 782 Archon Thersilochos (251/0). Clinton, *Eleusis* no. 188. Kirchner-Klaffenbach, *Imagines*² no. 89.

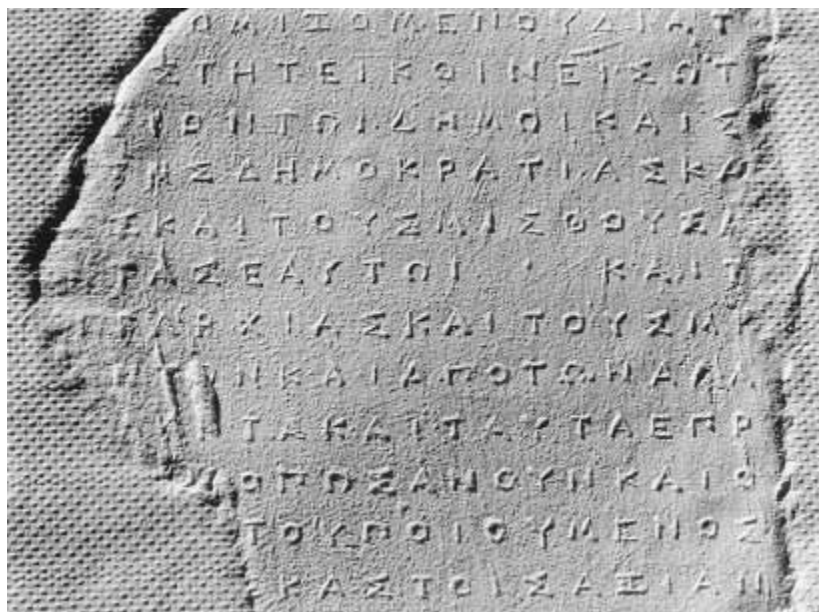


Figure 24. IG II² 698 lines 6–17.

IG II² 784 (fig. 25)

IG II² 792 (fig. 53 below)

IG II² 801

* IG II² 810 + addenda
p. 667

IG II² 819

IG II² 823

IG II² 860

Archon Athenodoros (238/7).³

Archon [Ol]bios (275/4). On the archon, *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 309–310 (= *SEG* 38 no. 76) and *ZPE* 78 (1989) 221–222 (= *SEG* 39 no. 120). Photograph in *ZPE* 78 (1989) pl. XIVb. See below for the join of Agora I 1904.

Peçirka, *Enktesis* 110–112.

Peçirka, *Enktesis* 112–114; Ph. Gauthier, *Les cités grecques et leur bienfaiteurs* (Paris 1985) 185–186.

Bielman, *Retour* no. 28; *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 310.

3. On the date, see above 2 n. 6.



Figure 25. IG II² 784.

- IG II² 1165
 IG II² 1219 + 1288 BCH 89 (1965) 344–348; SEG 22 no. 127.
 Clinton, *Eleusis* no. 191.
 IG II² 1272 Archon Menekles (267/6). Clinton, *Eleusis*
 no. 182.
 * IG II² 1277 Archon Demokles (278/7). Kirchner-
 Klaffenbach, *Imagines*² no. 80.
 * IG II² 1279 Archon Phil[*in*]os (259/8). Y. Garlan, BCH
 89 (1965) 339–344, gives an improved text.
 Clinton, *Eleusis* no. 183.
 IG II² 1283 Archon Polystratos (*ca.* 240). Peçirka, *En-
 ktosis* 122–130; Sokolowski, LSCG no. 46.
 Kirchner-Klaffenbach, *Imagines*² no. 87.
 IG II² 1287 Clinton, *Eleusis* no. 187.
 IG II² 1534B Archon Diomedon (248/7). S. B. Aleshire,
*The Athenian Asklepieion: The People,
 Their Dedications, and the Inventories*
 (Amsterdam 1989) 249–336; photographs
 on pls. 6–7. IG II² 1535 is also part of this

- text (fragment o, lines 48–60, in Aleshire's text). Acropolis inv. no. 7358 has also been associated with this text (S. B. Aleshire and A. P. Matthaiou in Aleshire, *Asklepios at Athens: Epigraphic and Prosopographic Essays on the Athenian Healing Cults* [Amsterdam 1991] 5–11; photograph pl. 2; see also by the same authors "*Νέο Θραῦσμα τῆς* IG II² 1534," *Horos* 8–9 [1990–1991] 45–51).
- IG II² 2431a
- IG II² 2437
- IG II² 3079 lines 5–20
- Agora I 15 + 96
- Agora I 202
- Agora I 625
- Agora I 1024
- * Agora I 1458
- Agora I 1533
- Agora I 1764 + 4890
- * Agora I 1904
- Agora I 2054
- Agora I 2455
- Agora I 3048 (fig. 26)
- Agora I 3238 and 4169
- * Agora I 3241
- Agora I 3394
- Agora I 3605
- Agora XV no. 125.
- Archon Nikias (282/1).
- Archon Olbios (275/4). *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 156–158; *Agora* XVI no. 185.
- Agora XV no. 110.
- Agora XV no. 77. Agora I 811, 818, and 820 also belong to this.
- Agora XV no. 86.
- Published below.
- Agora XIX no. P53. This text includes Agora I 1777, 1778, 1971, and 2014.
- Agora XV no. 109.
- Published below.
- Part of II² 700.
- Archon Diog<n>e[τος] (264/3). *Agora* XVI no. 192.
- Agora XVI no. 199.
- Archon Athenodoros (238/7). *Agora* XVI no. 194. A significant new fragment of this text will be published by Ch. Kritsas.
- Hesperia* 6 (1937) 453–454; *Agora* XVI no. 202.
- Archon Phanomachos (ca. 240). *Agora* XIX no. L4b.
- Hesperia* 23 (1954) 234–235 (= *SEG* 14 no. 61).



Figure 26. Agora I 3048.

+Agora I 3855

Agora I 4943

* Agora I 4986

Agora I 5326

+Agora I 5392

* Agora I 5466

Agora I 5592

* Agora I 5657

* Agora I 5796

Agora XV no. 79.

Agora XV no. 111.

Published below.

Agora XVI no. 203.

This text has now been published in *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 97. For its join with Agora I 3855, see Appendix Two below.

Published below.

Archon Philinos (259/8). Agora XVI no. 195.

Osborne, *Naturalization* no. D82; Agora XVI no. 178.

Archon Pheidistratos (252/1). Pritchett-Meritt, *Chronology* 100–101; see M. J. Osborne, "The Chronology of Athens in the

- Mid Third Century B.C.," *ZPE* 78 (1989), for an improved text (p. 240) and for discussion of the date of Pheidonstratos (pp. 237–242). *Agora* XVI no. 219.
- Agora I 5992 *Agora* XV no. 81.
- * Agora I 6259 Archon [Pytharatos] (271/o). *Agora* XV no. 80.
- Agora I 6533 Archon [Olbios] (275/4). *Agora* XVI no. 184.
- Agora I 6551 Archon [Anaxikrates] (279/8). *Agora* XV no. 75.
- Agora I 7043 Archon Philinos (259/8). *Agora* XV no. 89.
- Agora I 7308 *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 280–282.
- ArchDelt* 18A (1963) *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 311.
- 109–110
- * Eleusis inv. no. E 675 Clinton, *Eleusis* no. 180.
- EM 12671 *ArchDelt* 11 (1927–1928) 41–42; *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 311.
- EM 12736 *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 397–398.
- * EM 12909, 12925 *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 307–308. As reported by G. Bugh,⁴ these two fragments have been joined by D. P. Delmouzu to lines 9–16 and 17–21 of IG II² 672.
- EM 13405 *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 186.
- * *Thiasotai* of Herakles Archon Antimachos (256/5). Unpublished.⁵
- from Pankrati

INSCRIPTIONS IN THE STYLE OF

IG II² 637 and addendum

p. 662

IG II² 669

Archon Aristonymos (277/6).⁶

4. *The Horsemen of Athens* (Princeton 1988) 209.

5. I owe thanks to A. G. Kaloyeropoulou for a photograph and advanced information about this important text. On the date, see below 146–147.

6. B. D. Meritt dates this archon to the year 289/8; the date adopted here is that of John D. Morgan, whom I thank for the communication about the placement of this archon.

IG II² 673

Archon Demokles (278/7).

+IG II² 741

PUBLICATION OF FRAGMENTS FROM THE
ATHENIAN AGORA

1 (fig. 27). Fragment of white marble, part of left side (smooth) preserved, found in a marble dump in the northwestern part of the market square (G-K/5-8) on 28 February 1934.

H 0.265 m; W (face) 0.085 m; Th 0.14 m

Height of letters 0.005 m

Inv. no. I 1458

ca. a. 265 a. non-STOICH.

[--- σ]-
τράτ[ου? Λαμ]-
πτρέ[α]
vacat to bottom
(ca. 0.18 m)

This is the bottom left citation from either a prytany or ephebic decree.

2 (fig. 28). Fragment of gray marble with the right side preserved found in the loose filling of a well in the southwestern part of the Odeion (L 11) on 24 April 1934.

H 0.118 m; W 0.072 m; Th 0.06 m

Height of letters 0.005 m

Inv. no. I 1904

This fragment joins the right side of IG II² 792 and provides the ends of lines 6 to 11 as follows. The letters preserved by the new fragment are indicated in boldface type.

- 6 ανῶσαι αὐτῶν ἔ[καστον χρυσῶι στεφάνωι] κατὰ τὸν νόμον φιλο[τ]ι-
μίας ἔνεκα τῆς πρ[ὸς τὸν δῆμον· εἶναι δὲ αὐτ]οῖς καὶ προεδρ[ί]αν ἐ-
μ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσιν οἷς ἡ [πόλις τίθησι κα]ὶ τὸν ἀρχιτέκτο[ν]α τὸ-

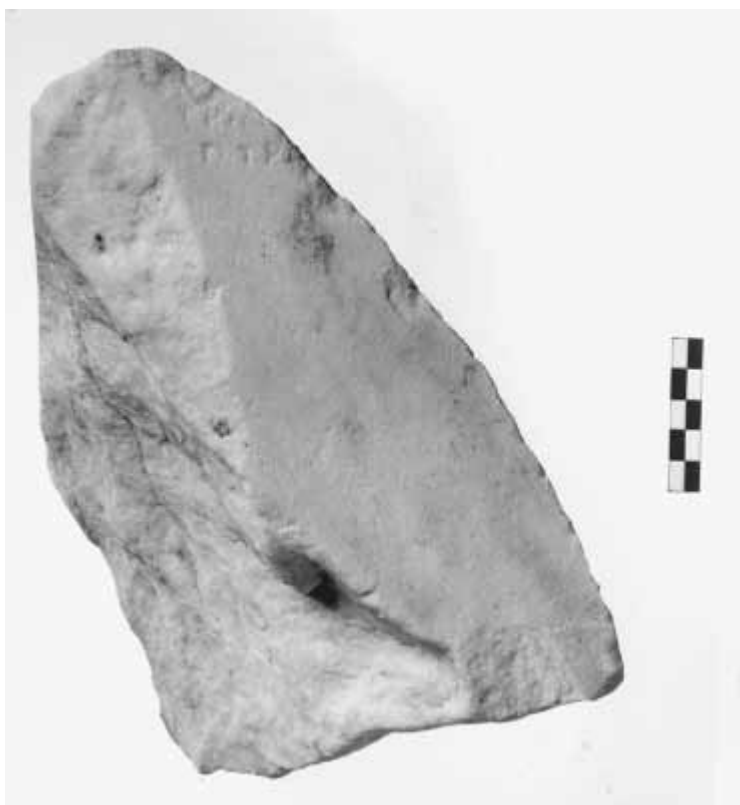


Figure 27. Agora I 1458.

9 ν ἀεὶ καθιστάμενον κατανέμει[ν αὐτοῖς] τὴν θέαν· ἐπαινέ[σα]ι δὲ
καὶ τὸν γραμματέα αὐτῶν Χαιρέσ[τρατον κ]αὶ στεφ[α]ν[ῶσαι θα]λλο-
ῦ στεφάνωι· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφ[ισμα καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν] σι -
12 τωνῶν κτλ.

3 (fig. 29). Fragment of white marble, inscribed face only preserved, found in stony fill close to the west side of the Roman fortification north of Acropolis Street (T 23) on 18 June 1937.

H 0.12 m; W 0.11 m; Th 0.06 m

Height of letters *ca.* 0.005 m

Inv. no. I 4986



Figure 28. Agora I 1904.



Figure 29. Agora I 4986.

ca. a. 265 a. non-STOICH.

uncertain number of lines lost

-----οκλέους Π-----

[---ἰδ]ος *vac.*

-----Α-----

uncertain number of lines lost

The appearance of parts of the patronymic and demotic in the first line and the end of the tribal name in the second reveal that this is a fragment from a list of ephebes disposed in two columns. We know for certain of three dis-

tinct ephebic inscriptions, or fragments thereof, inscribed by this workman, viz. IG II² 665, IG II² 700 (*Hesperia* 7 [1938] 110–114), and Agora I 3605 (*Hesperia* 23 [1954] 234–235). The present fragment cannot be part of the first, for the list of II² 665 has three columns with the demotics centered as headings for the roster (often only one!) from each deme. The letter size, interlinear spacing, and arrangement are similar to the list of II² 700 and suggest that this may be a non-joining part of that list. It is not impossible, however, for it to be the sole bit surviving from the list that once accompanied Agora I 3605 or from some other, as yet to be discovered, ephebic text inscribed by this cutter.

4 (fig. 30). Fragment of white marble, inscribed face only preserved, found in late fill north of the Klepsydra (T 27) on 24 May 1938.

H 0.097 m; W 0.026 m; Th 0.055 m

Height of letters 0.008 m

Inv. no. I 5466

ca. a. 265 a. non-STOICH.

T
HΦ
N

Dotted eta in line 2 is read on the basis of the top of a vertical at the edge of the break and just below the right side of tau.

This text appears most unpromising in every way; yet, to my considerable surprise, it may well be possible to find it a home and restore it with some degree of probability. The letters and interlinear spacing on this text are unusually large, indeed almost unique in this cutter's known work. They match exactly only one other text by him, IG II² 717 = Osborne, *Naturalization* no. D83. The upper part of that text is *stoichedon*, an arrangement that was modified in the lower part of the text. Our fragment is not *stoichedon*, at least not in the third line. If it belongs to this text, it therefore comes from the lower part. There is unlikely to be a physical join. Spacing suggests that the letters on this fragment are the tau of τὸν in line 16 (Osborne's line numbers), the eta phi of ψῆφον in 17, and the nu of ἐισαγαγεῖν in 18.



Figure 30. Agora I 5466.

*ADNOTATIUNCULA**IG II² 741 line 8*

The final letter of this line is not omega but this cutter's squared omikron. Perhaps, citing *IG II² 223B line 13*, one might very hesitantly suggest *φανερά εἰ ἢ τε το[[ὺ δήμου δωρεά . . .]*.

The Agora I 3238 Cutter apparently began work almost at the beginning of the independence that the Athenians won in the spring of 287 when they revolted from Demetrios Poliorketes. The demand for inscribing increased in these years and he was there to fill that need. He developed some special habits of inscribing that set him apart from his contemporaries. Above all,

he was, it seems apparent, unusually aware of the visual aspect of his texts. Inscribed stelai, after all, presented to the onlooker a welter of capital letters all run together. There were no spaces left between words and none between clauses or major sense units. The ancients were less bothered by this than modern readers because they read aloud and depended on sound rather than on sight for reading. Nevertheless, stelai inscribed with thousands of small letters must have presented a daunting appearance even to the seasoned ancient reader.⁷

Sensitive, apparently, to this aspect of his work, this cutter habitually left interlines as large or larger than the height of his letters.⁸ Such large interlines seem designed to help a reader, by making it less easy to lose one's place on the vertical surface of the stele, i.e., to skip in the act of reading up or down a line. He also made regular use of blank spaces in the body of his texts to set off proper names and to mark off clauses of decrees. His developed practice is exemplified by the ephebic inscription IG II² 665 of the year of Nikias of Otryne (266/5). He placed blank spaces on each side of the *ἐδοξεν*-clause (lines 5–6), before the purpose clause (line 13), around the *δεδόχθαι*-clause (line 15), before each of the infinitive clauses by which the resolve of the council is articulated (lines 19, 22, 23, 25, 29, 31), and around the teachers (lines 24, 26, 27, 28 *bis*). He is one of the first inscribers to do this.

The evidence suggests that it took him some time to arrive at this usage. The earliest dated text which we have from his hand is IG II² 662 (= Osborne, *Naturalization* no. D74A; *Agora* XVI no. 172) of the year of Diokles (286/5). This inscription (fig. 5) is far from complete, but he clearly marked off the name of the speaker with a blank space following his demotic in

7. To what extent inscriptions were read and to what extent the Athenians were literate are hotly debated matters. I do not doubt that inscriptions have monumental value, but I do believe that the texts were accessible and able to be read by most citizens. The fundamental study, which takes a conservative view of the extent of literacy in ancient Athens, is W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989). See also R. Thomas, *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge 1992), and K. Robb, *Literacy and Paideia in Ancient Greece* (Oxford 1994). J. Sickinger's valuable study, *Public Records and Archives in Classical Athens* (Chapel Hill 1999), documents the extensive Athenian use of written records.

8. Aside from the long inventory from the Asklepion, IG II² 1534B, where spatial considerations required very small interlines, there are few exceptions. They are IG II² 670, 673, 801, *Agora* I 202 (*Agora* XV no. 110), and I 4943 (*Agora* XV no. 111). One suspects that constraints of space must have caused him in these cases to forgo his usual practice.

line 5. He also seems to have put a blank right before the name of Artemidoros in line 6. Because of the inscription's fragmentary and incomplete nature, however, it is impossible to know about his use of spaces in the rest of this text.⁹ But the *vacat* of thirty spaces left in line 4 is unique in his work. Apparently the name of the chairman was lacking, or illegible, in the copy provided to him for inscribing and so he left room for it. But he failed to leave enough room, because the chairman's name is always followed by the 14-letter-long phrase *καὶ συμπρόεδροι*. Unless the name of the chairman was exceptionally short, there is simply not enough space to accommodate the name and the phrase.¹⁰ This has the appearance of a beginner's mistake and we may be dealing here with one of the first decrees that he ever inscribed.¹¹

Several other dated decrees that he inscribed for the city have no blanks at all, namely *IG* II² 670 (280/79), II² 672 (279/8), II² 669 (277/6),¹² II² 792 (275/4), *Agora* I 15 + 96 (*Agora* XVI no. 185, also of 275/4), and I 6259 (*Agora* XV no. 80 of 271/0). In addition there are no vacant spaces in *IG* II² 1277, a decree of *thiasotai* of the year 278/7. In sum, he appears to have shown some uncertainty and inconsistency with regard to deploying empty spaces during the first fifteen or so years of his career. He apparently did not begin to employ them regularly and frequently until after 270 B.C.

The following undated inscriptions reveal his developed usage with regard to *vacats*, namely using them to set off clauses and names of individuals: *IG* II² 677, II² 718 + 804, II² 1287, *Agora* I 1024 (*Agora* XV no. 86). These all may be safely dated after 270. Some other fragments are less well preserved, but have at least one *vacat* preserved that suggests the developed practice, viz. *IG* II² 525 + 675,¹³ *Agora* I 3048 (*Agora* XVI no. 199), I 5657 (*Agora* XVI no. 178), and I 7308 (*Hesperia* 47 [1978] 280–281). They too appear to have been inscribed after the year 270. Conversely the undated texts *IG* II² 801 and II² 1165 have no blank spaces; II² 698 has just one in line 11, but does not have one in the expected place in line 19 before *τύχει*

9. *IG* II² 760, recently shown to be part of this text (*Hesperia* 57 [1988] 308 = *SEG* 38 no. 71), preserves one *vacat* in the body of the decree at line 12.

10. As Osborne, *Naturalization* no. D74A, points out in his commentary, it is quite probable that the name, though never incised, was added with paint.

11. See above 52–54 for a comparison of this text with its counterpart *IG* II² 663, a second copy of the same text.

12. On this date, see above note 6.

13. On the blank space in line 5, see Tracy, "Two Attic Letter Cutters" 307.

ἀγαθ[εῖ].¹⁴ These inscriptions probably should be dated during the first period of this cutter's work, i.e., before 270.¹⁵

Blank spaces are the only device the I 3238 Cutter uses to articulate the texts he inscribed. He did not, as his younger contemporary the II² 788 Cutter did, use line-initial position for emphasis, nor does he evince at any point interest in syllabification at line-end. Indeed, in every case where enough survives to know the ends and beginnings of lines, his texts, *stoichedon* and non-*stoichedon* alike, have rather frequent widows. This is a normal feature of his work; he makes no discernible effort to avoid them.

The I 3238 Cutter also rarely inscribed a text that was perfectly *stoichedon*. Rather, most of his texts fall into a category that is accurate to describe as "near-*stoichedon*." Groups of lines will regularly be inscribed *stoichedon* for most of their length, and even when the pattern is broken, it will be picked up again by another group of lines that have their letters quite precisely under one another. In some cases they are off alignment just a little so that the vertical *stoichos* seems to wander a bit. It seems apparent that this cutter did not lay out a careful grid for his letters that he then adhered to when inscribing. I suspect, rather, that he drew horizontal guidelines and then every 10 to 15 centimeters a vertical line to aid in the placement of the letters. His impulse was to place letters quite accurately under one another for the most part, so that he achieved a *stoichedon* arrangement. However, he often abandons it for part of a line when he has to deal with iotas. He never combines an iota with another letter in a *stoichos*; rather, if he doesn't center the iota under the letter above, he places it the normal distance from the letters on either side and thus causes a slight disruption in the vertical alignment for some part or all of that line.¹⁶ Most of his texts fit this category.

Finally, a number of his texts are truly non-*stoichedon* with no ten-

14. There is at this point merely the suggestion of a space, for the sigma and tau have a slightly larger than normal space between them.

15. IG II² 810 is rather worn and fragmentarily preserved; it too does not appear to have had blank spaces before the separate clauses at the close of the decree. This would tend to suggest an early date for this text, i.e., before 270; but that is in apparent conflict with the payment officer, who was the treasurer of the stratiotic fund. Note, however, that this treasurer is apparently the officer of payment on Agora I 6096 (Agora XVI no. 188 lines 50–51) of the year of Pytharatos (271/0).

16. The displacement is never more than a few letters and certainly nothing like what M. B. Walbank has attributed to this cutter in his astonishing *editio princeps* of Agora I 5392 (*Hesperia* 58 [1989] 97). See below 171–172.

dency toward aligning the letters vertically.¹⁷ Some are, or were when whole, rather long, viz. II² 801, 1165, and 1534B; Agora I 202 (*Agora* XV no. 110), 1533 (*Agora* XIX no. P53), 4943 (*Agora* XV no. 111), and 7043 (*Agora* XV no. 89). Pressure for space may well be the reason they were inscribed neither *stoichedon* nor near-*stoichedon*. Some of these same texts—namely, II² 801, 1534B, Agora I 202, and I 4943—also have an unusually small interline.¹⁸ These facts suggest that considerations of cost, particularly those connected with the size of the slab of marble needed for a given text, were at times decisive regarding the use of *stoichedon* and interlinear spacing and indeed may have overridden the cutter's own preferences.

17. IG II² 666, 667, 718 + 804, 724, 801, 860, 1165, 1534B, Agora I 202, 1533, 4943, 7043, and *ArchDelt* 18A (1963) 109–110.

18. I take this opportunity to note the possibility that Agora I 202 (*Agora* XV no. 110) and I 4943 (*Agora* XV no. 111) may be parts of the same text. The former is described in the publications as “Hymettian” and the latter as “Pentelic,” but both are gray marble. The color of I 4943 is definitely lighter than I 202, but I do not think that they are so different that it is impossible that they originated from different parts of the same slab of marble. I owe thanks to Michael Dixon and Molly Richardson for helpful observations on these two fragments.

The Cutter of Agora I 6664

Dates: 281/0 – ca. 240

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LETTERING (FIG. 31)

The inscriptions of this cutter convey an impression of neatness thanks to his use of thin, firmly incised letter-strokes. The ends of strokes often thicken, giving the impression of nascent serifs. His round letters tend to be quite round and he rather frequently imparts a curve to the slanting strokes of alpha and lambda as well as to the top stroke of sigma. It is not unusual, indeed, for any one of his long strokes to have a slight curve. At the same time, the individual letters vary quite a lot, particularly epsilon, omikron, sigma, and omega. I would describe this lettering as neat, but not regular.

PECULIARITIES OF INDIVIDUAL LETTERS

Alpha

This letter tends to be rather wide. The apex is treated in three different ways: (1) it is left just slightly open, (2) the left slanting stroke overlaps the right a little, or (3) the two slanting strokes meet precisely. The three occur with about equal frequency. The right slanting stroke sometimes extends lower in the letter space than the left, imparting to the letter the impression of leaning forward. The crossbar is lightly incised and varies greatly in placement from quite high in the letter to very low.



Figure 31. Agora I 6664 lines 26–34.

Epsilon

The middle horizontal, if not centered, usually is somewhat closer to the upper than the lower stroke. The horizontals vary in length, from all three being about the same length (rather short) to the top and bottom ones being longer than the central stroke. Very occasionally the central stroke is omitted altogether.

Kappa

The upper slanting stroke nearly reaches the top of the letter-space, while the lower often verges on being horizontal.

Mu

The central *v* does not extend down to the bottom of the letter, but only about halfway.

Nu

The slanting stroke usually begins below the tip of the first vertical and often does not quite touch it. It normally meets the second vertical quite precisely at the bottom.

Omikron

This letter varies in size, but it is often quite

- small and is either centered or in the upper part of the letter-space.
- Rho* The loop varies in size but is often rather small and sometimes it is oblong or rather pointy—i.e., close to pennant-shaped.
- Sigma* This letter is usually the same height as the others, but at times the cutter widens the angles and makes it taller. The lowest stroke often deepens toward its end and is usually placed decidedly in from the end of the stroke to which it joins.
- Upsilon* The vertical is normally half the height of the letter or slightly more. The rather wide surmounting $\vee$ varies from being symmetrical to having one stroke (usually the left) longer than the other and placed at a slightly different angle.
- Phi* This letter is normally a bit taller than the others; it extends either above or below the line. The cutter is not consistent. The central part is a rounded oval placed at about the midpoint of the letter-space. This oval varies in size from very compressed and small to rather nicely rounded, but not very large.
- Omega* This letter is usually quite round and open at the bottom with finials to right and left. The size of the opening varies, and it occasionally appears that the cutter all but inscribed a complete circle to which he added the finials. Despite the variety of basic shape, each omega tends to be quite symmetrical in appearance.

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

- IG II² 199 The text reveals that this inscription and IG II² 730/1 are copies of the same stone inadvertently printed twice in *IG*.

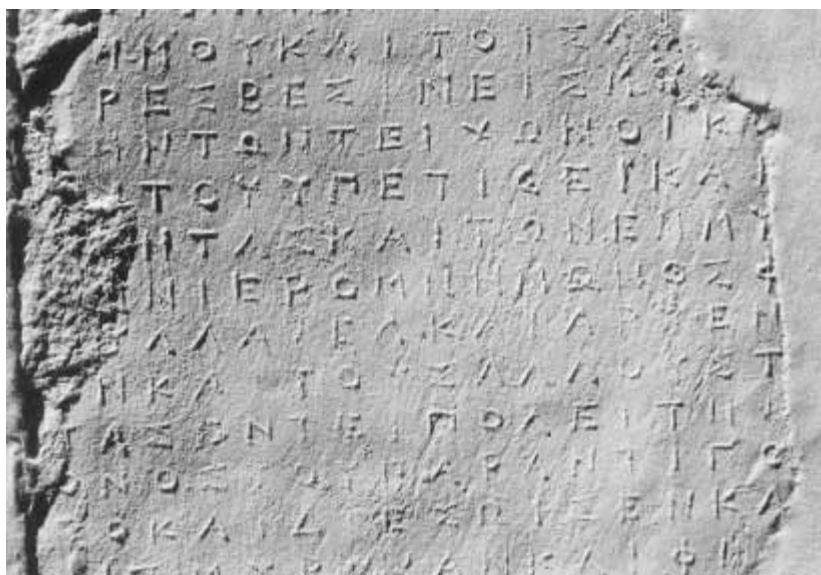


Figure 32. IG II² 550 lines 5–15.

+IG II² 550 (fig. 32)

F. G. Maier, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften*, Vestigia 1–2 (Heidelberg 1959–1961) no. 54; Bielman, *Retour* no. 58 and pl. 24.1. J. Cargill, *Athenian Settlements of the Fourth Century B.C.*, Mnemosyne Suppl. 145 (Leiden 1995) 211–212, offers some new readings. SEG 45 no. 92. This text should be dated to *ca.* 260; the Antigonos of line 14 must then be Gonatas.

IG II² 706 and addendum
p. 665 (fig. 33)

Peçirka, *Enktesis* 96.

IG II² 730/1

IG II² 775 (fig. 34) and 803

Archon Lysiades (*ca.* 240). See R. O. Hubbe, "Decrees from the Precinct of Asklepios at Athens," *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 174–178, for a new edition. D. M. Lewis, "The Archonship of Lysiades," *ZPE* 58 (1985) 271–274 (= SEG 35 no. 91), suggests that both of the decrees preserved on this stele belong to the year of Lysiades. For a photo-



Figure 33. IG II² 706.

- graph of IG II² 775, see ZPE 78 (1989) pl. XIVa.
- +IG II² 806 Osborne, *Naturalization* no. D48. Osborne's date of *ca.* 303/2 is at least twenty years too early. This will then constitute another attestation of the treasurer of the stratiotic fund during the years *ca.* 280 to *ca.* 250.¹
- +IG II² 1222 and addendum p. 672 (fig. 35) The date of this text is *ca.* 260 rather than *fin.* s. IV as in IG. Cargill, *Athenian Settlements* 214–218, has re-edited this text (= SEG 45 no. 126), but retains the late-fourth-century date.
- IG II² 1282 Archon Antipatros (263/2).
- Agora I 220 *Hesperia* 15 (1946) 189–190; *Agora* XVI no. 206.
- Agora I 749 *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 416–417; *Agora* XVI no. 174.

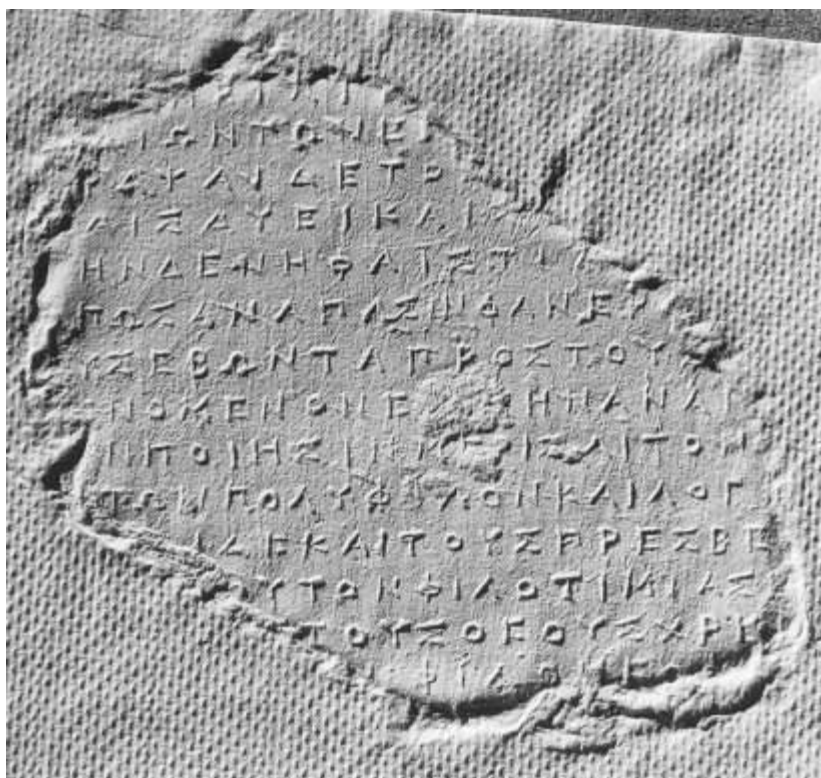
1. See A.S. Henry, "Athenian Financial Officials after 303 B.C.," *Chiron* 14 (1984) 49–92, esp. 52–57, 90–91, on the treasurer of the stratiotic fund.

Figure 34. IG II² 775 lines 23–36.

Agora I 863	Archon Ourias (281/0). <i>Hesperia</i> 4 (1935) 562–565; Moretti, <i>ISE</i> no. 15; Agora XVI no. 182.
+Agora I 2462	Archon [Nikias Otry]neus (266/5). <i>Hesperia</i> 37 (1968) 284–285.
Agora I 2581	Published below.
Agora I 6096	Archon Pytharatos (271/0). <i>Hesperia</i> 23 (1954) 296–306; Agora XVI no. 188.
+Agora I 6664 (fig. 31)	Archon Pytharatos (271/0). <i>Hesperia</i> 23 (1954) 287–296; Moretti, <i>ISE</i> no. 18; Agora XVI no. 187.
Agora I 6696 (fig. 36)	Archon Lysitheides (272/1). <i>Hesperia</i> 26 (1957) 54–55; Agora XVI no. 186.
Agora I 7290	Published below.

PUBLICATION OF FRAGMENTS FROM THE
ATHENIAN AGORA

1 (fig. 37). Fragment of gray marble, inscribed face only preserved, found in mixed fill southwest of the Tholos (F 12) on 15 March 1935.

Figure 35. IG II² 1222.

H 0.063 m; W 0.11 m; Th 0.015 m

Height of letters 0.007 m

Inv. no. I 2581

ca. a. 260 a. STOICH.

---N-----
 ----Τιμανδρ[ο--]
 ----ἔδοξεν----

This small fragment preserves part of the opening lines of a decree of the city. The name preserved in line 2 is part of the chairman's name, but there is not enough text preserved to determine whether it is his patronymic or his *nomen*. We may restore, for example, [--- τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν -----] Τιμάνδρ[ου ---- καὶ συμπρόεδροι] ἔδοξεν [τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ---].

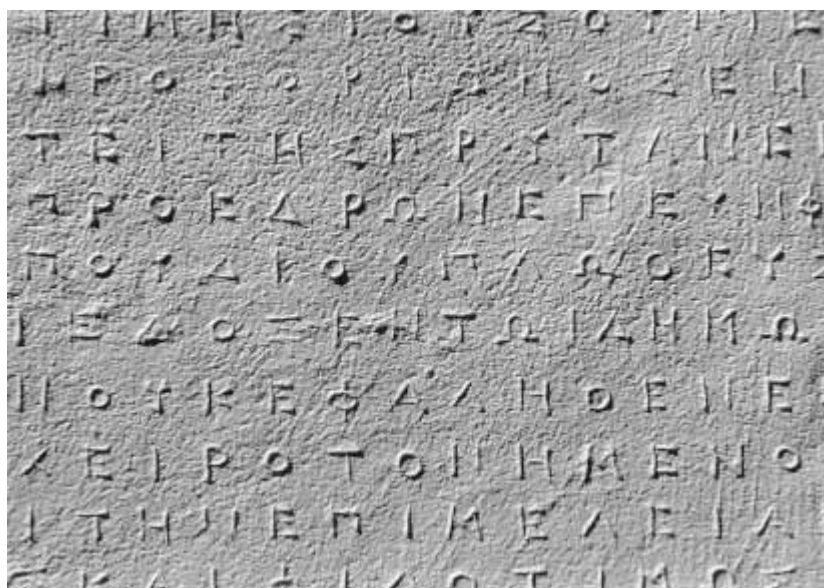


Figure 36. Agora I 6696 lines 4–12.



Figure 37. Agora I 2581.

There is a Timandros E[----], father of [name lost], known from just about this time on a new fragment of *IG* II² 1534A.² There is also the Timandros of Euonymon, father of Kt[es]archos, councillor of Erechtheis of ca. 256.³ A Timandros of roughly this time period is also attested in line 47 of *IG* II² 2356.

2 (fig. 38). Fragment of gray marble, right side preserved (smooth), found in marble washing (H-M/4-5) on 11 May 1971. The spring of a molding can be detected on the right side and on the face.

H 0.094 m; W 0.088 m; Th 0.024 m

Height of letters 0.005–0.006 m

Inv. no. I 7290⁴

ca. a. 275/4 a.

STOICH. ca. 43

- 1 [ἐπὶ --- ca. 8 --- ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς --- ca. 8 --- τετ]άρτης πρυ-
 [τανείας ἥι ----- ca. 24 ----- ἐγρ]αμμάτευ-
 [εν ----- ca. 31 ----- κο]στέι τῆς [v]
 4 [πρυτανείας· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν - ca. 4 -]ν Χαιρήμο[ν]-
 [ος ----- ca. 12 ----- καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τ]ῇ βουλῇ[ι]
 [καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· ----- ca. 26 -----]ς εἶπεν [v]
 7 [----- ca. 33 ----- στε]φανωσα[.]

uncertain number of lines lost

This text is inscribed *stoichedon* except that pi and rho in the first line and alpha and iota in the fourth occupy or straddle a *stoichos*. The left margin and line length cannot be determined exactly. Still, only the *nomen* of the chairman is lost in line 4 and his demotic at the opening of line 5. This cutter does not leave blank spaces before and after the ἔδοξεν-clause, so one cannot assume that blank spaces occupied a *stoichos* or two in line 5. Rather the entire space before καὶ συμπρόεδροι was filled by the demotic. This knowledge helps in determining the possible length of the name. The longest demotic in Attica, ἐγ Μυρρινούττης, has 14 letters. In that case

2. S. B. Aleshire, *Asklepios at Athens: Epigraphic and Prosopographic Essays on the Athenian Healing Cults* (Amsterdam 1991) 5.

3. *Agora* XV no. 86 line 43.

4. I owe much thanks to John D. Morgan for sharing his notes on this preamble with me.



Figure 38. Agora I 7290.

the chairman's name will have been 7 or 8 letters in length.⁵ The next longest demotics, *Ἀμφιτροπῆθεν*, *Μυρρινούσιος*, and *Κυδαθηναίεύς*, all have 12 letters. The name in that case will have been 5 or 6 letters long, and so on.⁶

The name Chairemon is not very common; it is attested in Kydathenaion in the second half of the fourth century.⁷ Otherwise it is known in the demes *Περιθοίδης* (10 letters), *Ἀγρυλῆθεν* (9), *Κειριάδης* (9), *Φρεάρριος* (9), and *Χολαργεύς* (9).⁸ Demotics in 9 letters are possible, but that would entail a name ending in nu that was three letters long. The name *Ἴων* is one of the few known which would suit the requirements of space. If, of course, the cutter placed iota with another letter in one *stichos*, then such names as Aion, Bion, and Dion would be possible.

5. Seven if I am correct in restoring a *vacat* at the end of the third line; eight, if I am not.

6. There are fourteen demotics that have 11 letters and very many with 9 or 10.

7. *IG II*² 410 crown X.

8. For the details, see *LGN II s.v.*

The shortest known archon's name in the first half of the third century is 6 letters in length and the shortest tribe 8 (*Αἰγείδος*, *Οἰνεῖδος*). If these were present, the name of the chairman would have been only 3 or 4 letters long. In constituting the text given above, the calculation of letters lost has been based on a chairman with a name 5–6 letters in length and a demotic of 12 letters.⁹ If this is correct, then the archon's name and tribal name will together have had 16 letters, in the combinations 6¹⁰ and 10, 7 and 9, or 8 and 8.

Whatever the case, the available space in line 7 is approximately 10 letters too short to accommodate the well-attested wording that opens prytany decrees, namely *ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς* e.g. *Αἰγείδος ἐπαίνεσαντες καὶ στεφανώσαντες κτλ.* I am unable to suggest a plausible restoration or point to a useful parallel.

IG II² 550 and IG II² 1222

These two inscriptions, heretofore dated to the last years of the fourth century, are now seen to belong to the years 280 to 240.¹¹ They cannot be part of the same inscription; the difference in letter-height—0.006 m (II² 550) and 0.005 m (II² 1222)—and spacing makes that impossible. They probably, however, deal with the same event or series of events. They appear to reflect renewed Athenian activity on Lemnos and thus a period of Athenian control. They should be dated either to soon after the year 281, when King Seleukos returned Lemnos to the control of the Athenians,¹² or, as advocated above (20), to Antigonos Gonatas' restoration of freedom to the Athenians in 255. The mention of Hephaistia, the main city of the island, in IG II² 735 appears to strengthen the argument for the later date and for

9. I have used *ca.* in my text to remind the unwary that there are too many variables for certainty—not least among them the cutter's tendency toward the ends of lines to place two letters in a single *stoichos*. He does this, for example, in Agora I 6696, as study of the photograph published in *Hesperia* 26 (1957) pl. 9 no. 11 reveals.

10. If 6 letters is correct, the archons with known secretaries who would suit the available space of 24 letters in line 2 are Nikias (282/1) and Olbios (275/4). Ourias' (281/0) secretary at 22 letters is too short and Euthios' (283/2) at 29 too long. We also need to keep in mind that we do not know the secretaries for Isaïos (284/3) and Lykeas (*ca.* 240).

11. It appears likely that the Polyphilos mentioned in line 10 of IG II² 1222 is identical with the Polyphilos, son of Archedemos, of Halai who appears on a mortgage horos from Hephaistia of the third century B.C. (L. Beschi, "Nuove iscrizioni da Efestia," *ASAtene* 70–71, 1992–1993 [1998], 262–267). The name is not a very common one.

12. Phylarchos in Athenaios 6.254 = FGrH 81 F29. IG II² 672, praise of Komeas, hipparch to Lemnos, refers to these events (esp. lines 39–42).

renewed Athenian activity on the island about the year 255. Although this measure cannot be dated precisely, it should belong to about midcentury (below 114, 115–116).

The islands in the northeast Aegean were clearly pawns in the power game that these monarchs were always waging.¹³ Antigonos Monophthalmos had in restoring Athens' freedom in 307 given them back to Athens. When he in turn was defeated at Ipsos in 301, Athens lost control of them. When Lysimachos conquered Macedonia in 288, he took them. Seleukos after defeating Lysimachos in the year 281 returned them to Athens. Little is known of their fate between 281 and 167, when the Roman Senate returned control of them to Athens.¹⁴ That Antigonos seized them in 263/2 after his victory in the Chremonidean War and held them until 255 is speculation, but it is based on his clearly strong assertion of power over the Athenians at that time. He not only stationed a garrison in the city, he also appointed senior officials of the city and meddled in the actions of the assembly (above 15–20). It appears highly likely that he would have seized control of Lemnos and Imbros, Athens' strategically important possessions in the northeast Aegean. In fact, however, we have no sure information about relations between Antigonos and Lemnos other than that he is mentioned in line 14 of IG II² 550.

ADNOTATIUNCULAE

IG II² 806

Osborne in his text notes the anomalies and accounts for them well enough. This cutter not infrequently combines iota with another letter and quite often either crowds or leaves blank spaces at line-end to achieve syllabification. He does not otherwise normally leave blank spaces. I do not think, therefore, that there was, as Osborne suggests, a vacant space left after the word Acropolis in line 8, and there is no trace of any letter after the final eta in the same line. I read and restore the end of line 7 through line 9 of this text as follows:

καὶ σ[τῆσαι^{vv}]

8 [ἐν Ἀκροπόλει· εἰς δ]ἐ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στή[^{vv}]-
[λῆς μερίσαι τὸν τ]αμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν^v

13. On these islands and their crucial importance for the grain supply of Athens, see N. Salomon, *Le Cleruchie di Atene* (Pisa 1977), esp. 175–188.

14. Several inscriptions found at the Kabeirion on Lemnos give evidence of Athenians resident on the island in the second half of the third century B.C., but it

Agora I 2462 line 13

Meritt read [---- K]υδαν[τῖδης]. This does not appear to be correct. The remains in this line are the top of a round letter, a clear upsilon, an apexed letter, space for one letter, and another apex, i.e., *QYΔ . Δ*. The only demotics that suit these remains are [Kov]θυλ[ί]δ[ης] and [Ko]ρυδ[α]λ[λεús].

Agora I 6664

Line 27. The initial sigma is inscribed over a upsilon. Probably the cutter was thinking masculine genitive singular and so by mistake inscribed *TOY*, the most common ending.

Line 28. The letters *NXPYΣ* are spaced out a bit and inscribed in a *rasura* (fig. 31). The nature of the error is unclear.

This cutter has a decided preference for gray marble.¹⁵ He usually inscribes letters that are 0.005–0.006 m high with an interline of about the same size. Four of his fourteen known inscriptions are not *stoichedon*—IG II² 775 + 803, 1222, 1282, and Agora I 6664 (Agora XVI no. 187)—and one, IG II² 730/1, apparently began *stoichedon* and then dropped it in the last three preserved lines. What truly sets this workman apart is his strong preference for syllabification at line-end. In the eleven surviving texts where there is enough preserved to see his practice, he adjusts his texts at the ends of lines by a combination of blank spaces and crowding. Only in his earliest preserved text, Agora I 863 (Agora XVI no. 182) of 281/0, does he not consistently preserve syllabification. This text too is unique in his surviving work in having a rather large number of widows, nine in 32 lines.

He also used an occasional blank space within a decree to emphasize a name; line 3 of Agora I 749 (Agora XVI no. 174) is the one preserved example. Once, too, by slightly crowding the previous line, he placed the speaker's name at the beginning of the line—line 10 of Agora I 6696 (Agora XVI no. 186). This appears to have been a chance happening, for in the five other cases where we can observe his practice—IG II² 775 + 803, Agora I 863 (Agora XVI no. 182), 6096 (Agora XVI no. 188), 6664 (Agora XVI no. 187), and 7290—he neither placed the speaker first nor, apparently, set off his name with a space.

is not possible to ascertain from them who was in control of the island. See S. Accame, "Iscrizioni del Cabirio di Lemno," *ASAtene* n.s. 3–4 (1941–1942) 75–105, nos. 3–5, 9.

15. Twelve texts are inscribed on gray marble, four on white.

The Cutter of IG II² 776

Dates: ca. 255 – ca. 240

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LETTERING (FIG. 39)

Although he does not inscribe his texts using a *stoichedon* pattern, this cutter spaces his letters out on the horizontal so that the space between each letter exceeds the height of the letters. He also leaves quite liberal interlines, viz. more than the height of the letters. Nevertheless, his lettering has a somewhat uncertain appearance, perhaps because the letters are lightly incised. Another contributing factor is that his letter-strokes often do not quite meet, particularly the apex of alpha.

PECULIARITIES OF INDIVIDUAL LETTERS

<i>Alpha</i>	This letter is relatively wide and the apex is routinely left open. The crossbar, usually straight but sometimes exhibiting a slight curve, is placed at the midpoint or below. Indeed, it often comes rather low in the letter and sometimes it extends past the right slanting stroke.
<i>Epsilon</i>	The length of the horizontal strokes varies and the central one is somewhat shorter than the others.
<i>Mu</i>	This is this cutter's widest letter. It is in essence two thin lambdas placed side by side.
<i>Omikron</i>	This letter is quite round and large and tends to be placed slightly up in the letter-space.

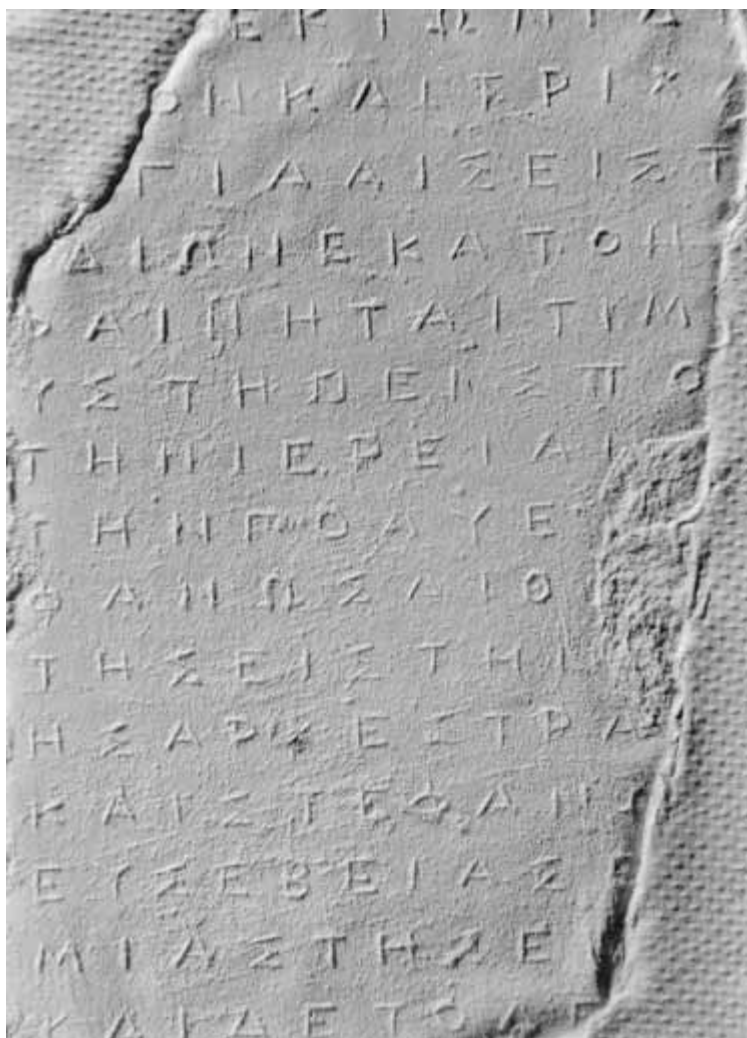


Figure 39. IG II² 776 lines 17–30.

Rho

The loop is rather large and occupies about half the height of the letter or a bit more. It tends to be slightly oblong. Occasionally it has a straight segment, but usually it curves.

Tau

The crossbar of tau is shorter than the vertical and often placed off center to the left.

<i>Upsilon</i>	The vertical is about half the height of the letter and is surmounted by a wide v that is roughly symmetrical.
<i>Phi</i>	The central part consists of a large oval at times awkwardly placed off center to left or right and often low in the letter-space.
<i>Omega</i>	This letter is as tall as the others, quite round, open at the bottom, and has finials attached at the right and left. The left one tends to be a bit larger and the right to slant up a bit.

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

+IG II ² 735 ¹ (fig. 40)	
IG II ² 774 and addendum on p. 667	Moretti, <i>ISE</i> no. 23. The archon and the reading of the secretary's demotic in line 3 have been a source of much discussion. After careful examination of the stone, M. J. Osborne ("The Chronology of Athens in the Mid Third Century B.C.," <i>ZPE</i> 78 [1989] 221–225) restores the archon as [Lysia]des. See <i>SEG</i> 39 no. 131 for further bibliographic references. The date of Lysiaades remains uncertain; B. D. Meritt in his last list ("Mid-Third-Century Athenian Archons," <i>Hesperia</i> 50 [1981] 95) placed him in the year 253/2. Osborne in the article just mentioned assigns him to 243/2.
+IG II ² 776 (fig. 39)	Archon Alkibiades (ca. 240).
Agora I 1273 (fig. 41)	<i>Hesperia</i> 10 (1941) 57–58; <i>Agora</i> XVI no. 183. Though listed as <i>stoichedon</i> both by

1. On page 43 of *ALC* I listed this inscription as in the style of the Cutter of Agora I 787, to which it does bear a general resemblance. But now that I have come to know the writing of the present cutter, the shapes of alpha, omikron, and tau reveal that it is his work. Please note: I have carefully compared the inscriptions of the present cutter and those of the I 787 Cutter to make sure they are not all by one man. While their general styles are similar, the open apex of alpha, the often rather short top and bottom horizontals of epsilon, the frequently large omikron, the short crossbar of tau, and the oval phi of the present cutter set him apart from the I 787 Cutter. See *ALC* 41–42 for a description and illustration of the latter's lettering.

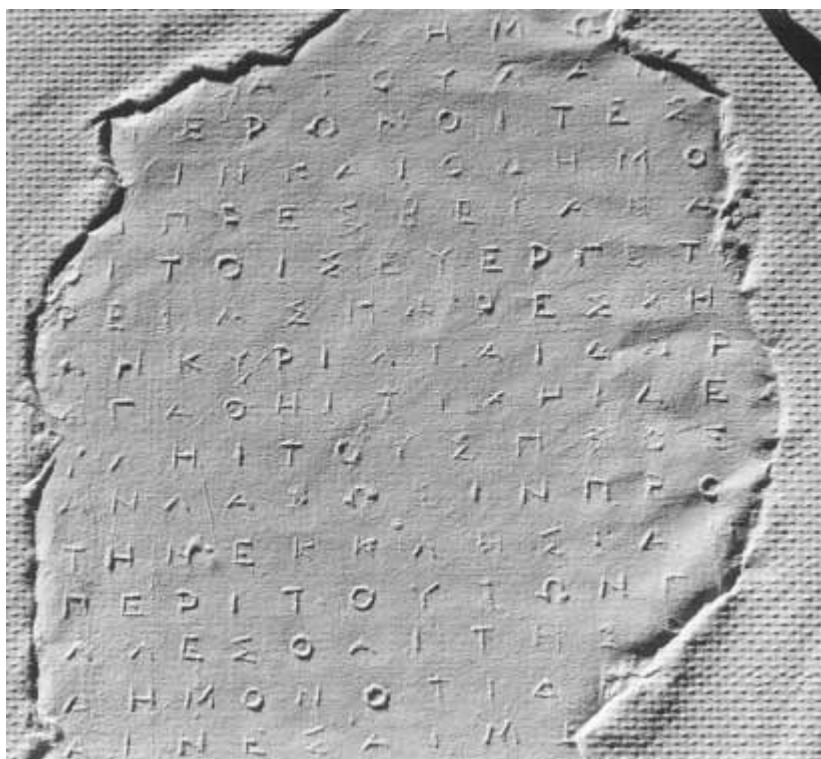


Figure 40. IG II² 735 lines 2–17.

the initial editor and by A. G. Woodhead in *Agora XVI*, study of the published photograph (*Hesperia* 10 [1941] 57) shows that it is not.

Agora I 5653

Hesperia 30 (1961) 214–215; *Agora XVI* no. 197. Meritt in his *editio princeps* rightly pointed to the similarity of lettering and subject matter of this text to IG II² 774.

ADNOTATIUNCULAE

IG II² 735

An unpublished fragment from the Acropolis Museum (inv. no. MA 13785) appears to be part of this text. G. E. Malouchou will publish the new



Figure 41. Agora I 1273.

piece with an improved version of the entire text in a forthcoming issue of *Horos*. This inscription preserves part of a decree of the people of Athens ratifying grants that the Athenians resident on the island of Lemnos had made to those who had helped them. It seems to date to about the year 250 and to reflect a period of renewed Athenian activity on the island. *IG II*² 550 and 1222 may well belong to the same time and reflect the same activity.

*IG II*² 776 lines 16 and 22

There are two small inscribing errors to note. The beta of the archon's name in line 16 is incomplete; iota stands on the stone. The nu of *τήν* in line 22

is inscribed over a sigma (fig. 39). The cutter initially inscribed $\tau\eta\varsigma$. The common turn of phrase $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\grave{\nu}\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma/\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ surely led him to make this error.²

None of this cutter's texts are *stoichedon*. He is careful with word divisions and usually achieves syllabification. He does not leave *vacats* in his texts. Once (in Agora I 1273 [Agora XVI no. 183])—perhaps it was simply chance—the speaker comes at the beginning of the line. In the two other cases where we can observe his practice, IG II² 735 and 774, the speaker's name did not come at the beginning of the line. The present cutter did not use the perfect design.

2. See, e.g., IG II² 674 line 15, 678 line 19, 780 line 19.

The Cutter of *SEG* II no. 9

Dates: 251/0 – ca. 240

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LETTERING (FIG. 42)

This workman makes letters with thin strokes that often taper at the ends to points. Strokes do not meet one another precisely and long strokes tend to bend or curve, sometimes rather awkwardly. Letters made from multiple strokes, such as epsilon, mu, nu, and sigma, vary a great deal in shape from example to example. Although not difficult to read, the lettering seems rather haphazard, indeed even sloppy.

PECULIARITIES OF INDIVIDUAL LETTERS

Alpha

This letter reveals a wide range of variation. The left slanting stroke is sometimes raised up slightly from the base line, giving the letter the appearance of leaning forward. There is a tendency for the right stroke to extend up beyond the apex of the letter. The crossbar, straight, is placed at the midpoint of the letter or lower. It sometimes slants sharply downward from left to right; occasionally it does the opposite.

Epsilon

The top and bottom horizontals are usually as long or longer than the vertical and often curve slightly. The central horizontal is quite short and usually quite well centered between the other two.

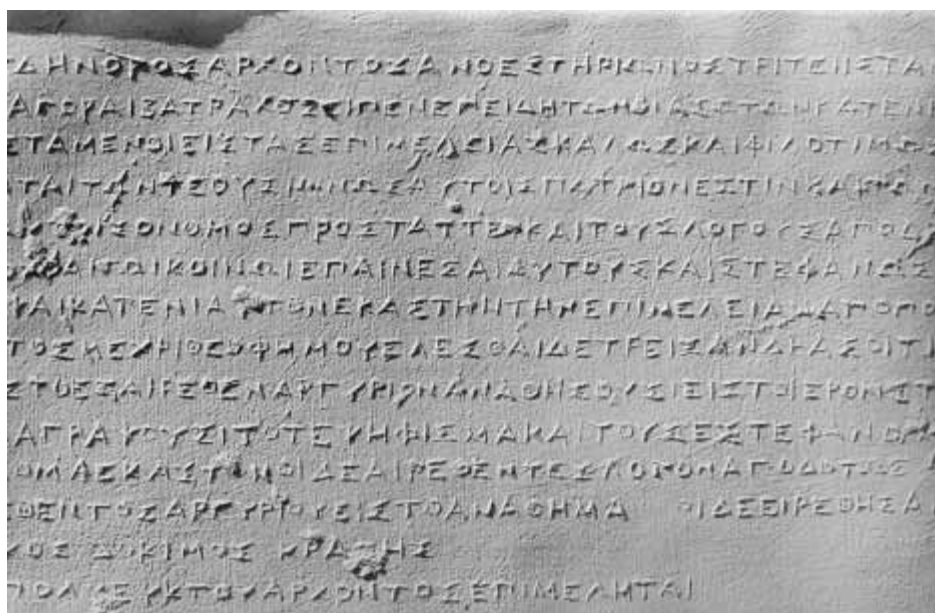


Figure 42. SEG II no. 9 lines 2–14.

Kappa

The horizontally slanting strokes are shorter than the vertical. They either slant at about the same angle or the lower one verges toward being nearly horizontal.

Mu

The letter is composed of four strokes; the outer ones usually slant but occasionally are all but vertical. The central part extends down to about the midpoint of the letter and frequently lower. Strokes often either overlap or do not meet.

Nu

The left vertical has a tendency to be shorter than the right; both tend to lean or curve in various ways. The slanting diagonal stroke that connects them is long—the letter in consequence is quite wide—and tends to extend beyond one or both verticals. Very occasionally this letter can have a neat square appearance.

Omikron

Small and placed in the upper part of the letter-space, the letter is made from small, nearly straight segments. Often a gap is

left in the circle, particularly at the upper left.

Sigma

The four strokes that make up this letter are disposed by this cutter in a great variety of ways. Basically the central part of the letter extends in about halfway. The top and bottom strokes usually, but not always, slant. The topmost stroke nearly always begins in from the end of the slanting stroke that it meets. The lowest stroke sometimes does this, but also not infrequently extends beyond the stroke that it joins.

Upsilon

This letter is composed of either two or three strokes. The vertical is about half the height of the letter or a bit more and often extends in a curve to the left to form the upper left part of the letter. The right upper part is straight and longer than the left. It also tends to have a sharper angle away from the vertical than its counterpart. This is quite a wide letter.

Omega

This letter is smallish and placed up in the space. The bottom is left open with small horizontal finials added to right and left. The left finial tends to slant upward slightly.

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

- | | |
|--|---|
| +IG II ² 1284 ¹ | Archon Lykeas (<i>ca.</i> 240). |
| +IG II ² 1317b = add.
p. 673 (fig. 44 below) | Archon Hieron (249/8). |
| +SEG II no. 9
(figs. 42–43) | Archon Kydenor (245/4). A.D. Keramopoulos, <i>Ἀποτυμπανισμός</i> (Athens 1923) 113–114; photograph on p. 113. |

1. On this text alone, the cutter makes a cruciform phi 7 times. Only the phis in lines 8 and 29 reveal an oval central part similar to the shape he invariably uses in his other inscriptions.

- +SEG II no. 10 Archon Thersilochos (251/o). Keramopoul-
(fig. 45 below) los, Ἀποτυμπανισμός 112.
- +Piraeus Museum Archon Lysiades (ca. 240). G. Steinhauer,
inv. no. 6657 "Νεότερα στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὸν σαλιμίνιο
(fig. 46 below) θίασο τῆς Βενδίδου," Ἀρχαιολογικὴ
Ἐφημερίς 1993 (1995) 31–32 = SEG 44
no. 60, where R. S. Stroud notes a minor
correction in the word division between
lines 4 and 5.²

SEG II no. 9 (fig. 43)

Since the time of the initial publication in 1923, a small piece has been lost from the bottom right edge, so that the final letters of lines 18 to 20 in column II are lost. Two letters are lost in line 18 and five each in lines 19 and 20.

Since this measure calls for the listing of officials who have supervised the sacrifices on behalf of the *thiasos* from the archonship of Polyeuktos to that of Theophemos (lines 2–8), it has unusual importance for the archon list in this period. Potentially, it provides us with an invaluable chain of archons. Unfortunately, the inscription is broken at the bottom and it is not possible to determine exactly how many entries are lost.

As an aid to discussion, I provide here a text of the year entries (lines 14–26) that reproduces as closely as possible the layout as it appears on the stone.

ἐπὶ Πολυεύκτου ἄρχοντος ἐπιμεληταί

ἐπὶ Κυδήνορος ἐπιμεληταί

ramus oleagineus

ramus oleagineus

15 Εὐτυχίδης, Θάλλος
γραμματεὺς Βάτραχος
ταμίας Κτήσιππος

Τίβειος, Ἀρτέμων, Θάλλος
γραμματεὺς Ἀρχέπολις
ταμίας Κράτης

vacat

ramus oleagineus

ἐπ' Εὐρυκλείδου

ἐπὶ Ἰέρωνος ἐπιμεληταί

γραμματεὺς Β[άτραχος]

Διότιμος, Δημήτριος, Πύρρος

ταμίας Κρ[άτης]

20 γραμματεὺς Ἀρχέπολις
ταμίας Βάτραχος

va[cat]

2. I am most indebted to Dr. Steinhauer for providing me with a squeeze of this inscription.

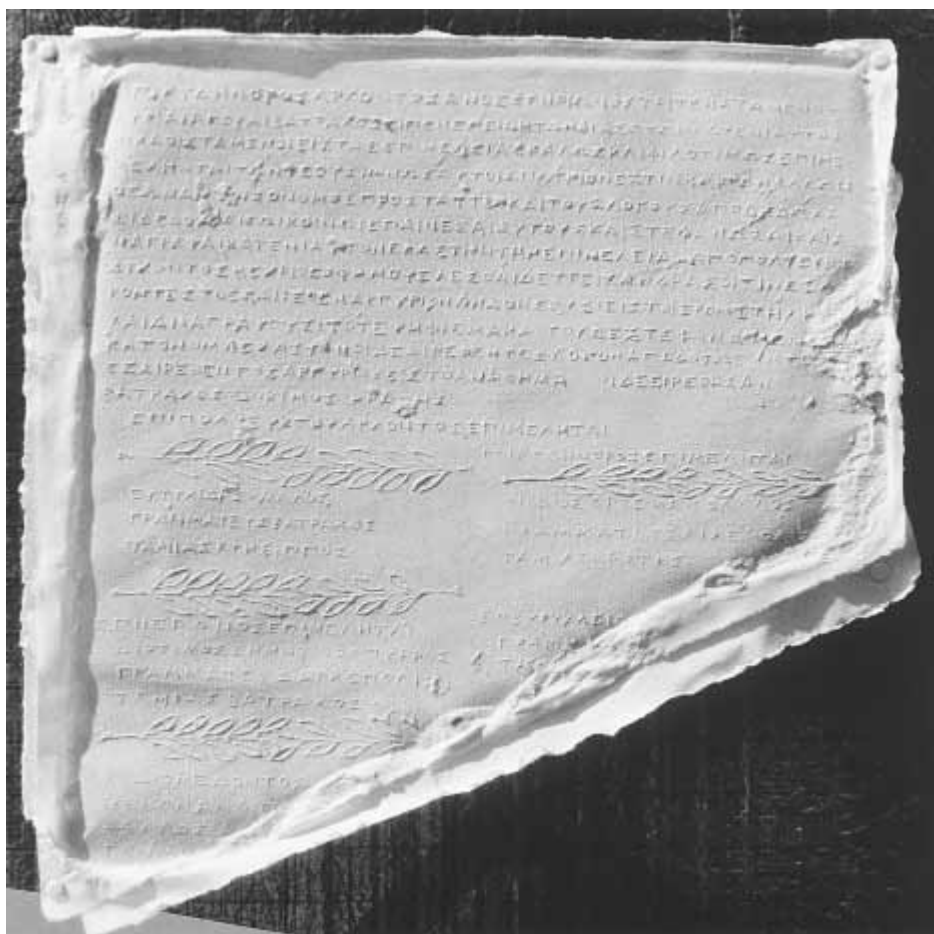


Figure 43. SEG II no. 9.

ramus oleagineus

ἐπὶ Διομέδοντος ἐ[πιμεληταί]

Ξένων, Ἀμφίπ[ολις?]

Θάλλος, ΑΓ -----

25 γραμμα[τεὺς -----]

[ταμίας -----]

Except for the first year-rubric (line 14), which extended two-thirds of the way across the face of the stele, the rest of the lines and incised olive branches in the first column filled only the left half of the stele or less. Thus, when the prescribed entries for the officials from Polyeuktos' to Theophemos' archonship were completed, the space to the right—that is, the entire right half of the stele below line 14—was left conspicuously blank.

This clearly led Batrachos, Dokimos, and Krates, the men charged with the making of the stele (line 13), to have the cutter also include the officials of their own year, Kydenor's year, to the right. This, by the way, suggests that the first column was full.

With an eye to symmetry and clearly also with some expectation (rightly or wrongly) that there might be further entries, the cutter lined up lines 15 to 17 of column II with the corresponding lines in column I. He achieved this by crowding in the year-rubric for Kydenor and the olive branch into the vertical space between lines 14 and 15 of column I. When he came some months, perhaps as much as a year (or more!), later to add the officials of Eurykleides' year—the hand is clearly the same—he was much less careful about the alignment across the columns.³ We cannot know why. He omitted the olive branch and placed lines 18 to 20 of column II opposite the interlines of those lines in column I. He also apparently did not have the names of the *epimeletai* of this year available to him. The vacant space preserved at the bottom left of the second column suggests that they were never inscribed and that this was the final entry on the stele.

How many year entries are lost in column I? S. Dow calculated that the original height of the present stele was probably 0.88 m and that we have just half of it.⁴ If this is correct and if there was the customary vertical space left blank at the bottom of *ca.* 0.15 m, there was room in column I for two, perhaps three, entries including the officials of the year of Theophemos. We thus have, based on this text, the following fixed sequence of archons:

Polyeuktos

Hieron

Diomedon

[one or two archons missing]

[Theophemos]

Kydenor

[one archon missing?]

Eurykleides

3. B. D. Meritt, "Mid-Third-Century Athenian Archons," *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 82, asserts that the hand is different. He is wrong in this, but it is less certain that he is wrong in asserting that "one year intervened between them [i.e., Kydenor and Eurykleides]."

4. "New Kinds of Evidence for Dating Polyeuktos," *AJA* 40 (1936) 65–70.

Decrees known to have been passed in Kydenor's year praise the ephebes and *agoranomoi* of Philoneos' year⁵ and the *sitonai* of Diomedon's.⁶ This delay is quite unusual. Apparently, it had become impossible during Diomedon's year (248/7) and the next for the usual honorary decrees to be passed in a timely manner. The failure was made good in Kydenor's year (245/4).⁷ It seems very probable, then, that the archons Diomedon, Philoneos, and Theophemos preceded Kydenor—i.e., that two entries rather than three are lost from column I of SEG II no. 9.⁸

In addition, in the early spring of Diomedon's year there was a special fund-raising effort *εἰς τὴν σω[τ]ηρίαν τῆς π[ό]λεως καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς [χ]ώρας* (for the safety of the city and the protection of the countryside).⁹ Indeed, lines 10 to 12 of the decree proposing that effort reveal that the particular motivation was to expedite and safeguard over the next three months (by the end of Diomedon's year) the gathering of the harvest into the city (*[ἵνα κατὰ τὸν κατάλοιπον χρόνον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ συνκ[ομισθῶσιν οἱ ἐκ γῆς κ]αρποὶ μετ' ἀσφαλείας*). Clearly, the residents believed that the countryside was about to come under attack and the city under siege. This situation must have been caused by the actions of Alexander, son of Krateros, governor of Corinth and Chalkis: specifically, the war he had been waging since 251 B.C. with his uncle King Antigonos. This was a wide-ranging affair that included both Argos and Athens.¹⁰ During it, Herakleitos of Athmonon, general over Piraeus, protected Salamis and its countryside from suffering undue harm from pirates that Alexander sent to attack them.¹¹ It was during these trying times too that Aischron, son of Proxenos, gave 8,000 *medimnoi* of wheat to aid the city.¹²

5. Ephebes—IG II² 766 (for additional fragments, see *Hesperia* 17 [1948] 4–7 and 57 [1988] 317–319); *agoranomoi*—Agora XVI no. 217.

6. Agora XVI no. 216.

7. S. Tracy, "Two Attic Letter-Cutters of the Third Century B.C.," *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 321.

8. M. J. Osborne agrees ("Philinos and the Athenian Archons of the 250s B.C.," in *Polis and Politics: Studies in Ancient Greek History Presented to M. H. Hansen*, ed. P. Flensted-Jensen, T. H. Nielsen, and L. Rubinstein [Copenhagen 2000] 516 n. 3), but thinks it likely that Philoneos came after and not before Theophemos. On this sequence of archons, see Appendix One.

9. IG II² 791 lines 30–31; for a new edition, see Agora XVI no. 213.

10. IG II² 774 lines 14–15; on the war in general, see Habicht, *Athens* 162–163, but with the dates revised, as in the French translation, *Athènes Hellénistique: Histoire de la cité d'Alexandre le Grand à Marc Antoine*, trans. M. and D. Knoepfler (Paris 2000) 180–182.

11. IG II² 1225 lines 12–15; new edition by Bielman, *Retour* no. 25.

12. IG II² 845—for the date, see Tracy, "Two Attic Letter-Cutters" 320.

ADNOTATIUNCULAE

IG II² 1284

This cutter appears to have experienced some uncertainty in this text about the spelling of the noun *orgeones*, in particular with regard to the vowel that was to precede the omega. In lines 1, 7, 11, 15, 28, and 31 he has inscribed an epsilon. In lines 9 and 23, however, there are or were variants. In line 9, he first inscribed *ὀργειῶνας*, but then erased the EI and replaced them with Y, so that the form *ὀργγ[[υ]]ῶνας* appears on the stone. This spelling has no parallel. In line 23, epsilon is superscribed on another letter, apparently upsilon. That is, he first inscribed *ὀργγῶνας* here as well.

ὀγδοίει, not *ὀγδοεί*, is the correct reading in line 20.¹³

IG II² 1317b (fig. 44)

Line 5. The article *τό* has been omitted from the text of IG near the end of this line. Read: *περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ τῆς Βενδίδος*. Note that the final phrase of the decree is correctly printed as *εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Βενδίδος*.

Line 8. As L. Threatte has observed (*The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* II, *Morphology* [Berlin 1996] 464), *ἀναθέτωσαν* stands on the stone.

SEG II no. 10 (fig. 45)

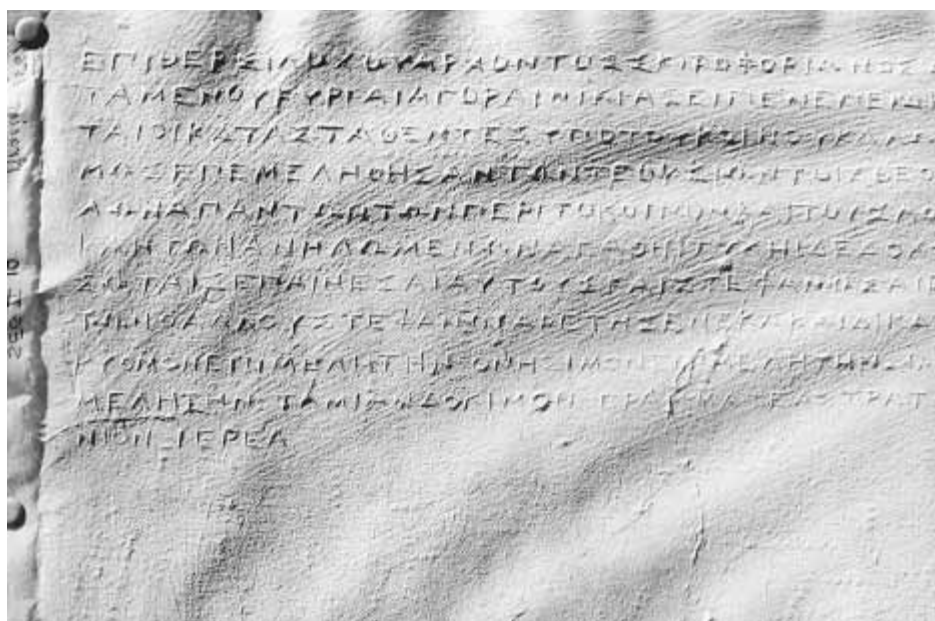
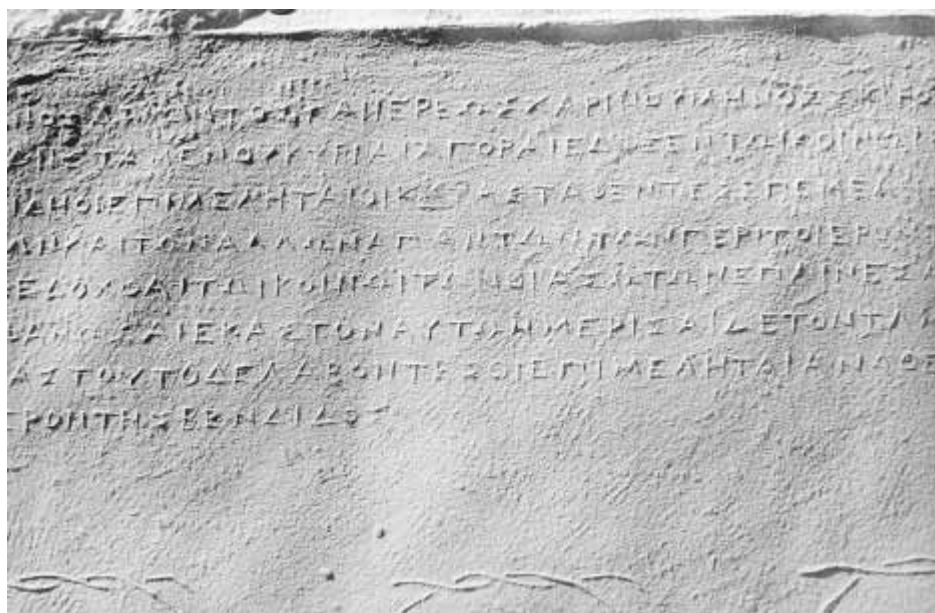
Keramopoullos, the initial editor, did not indicate the vacant spaces that the cutter has left in lines 10 to 12. Since they are important markers, I provide a text of these lines here that includes the blank spaces left on the stone:

10 *Ῥύθμον ἐπιμελητὴν ὕ Ὀνήσιμον ἐπιμελητὴν ὕ Ὠφελίωνα ἐπι-
μελητὴν ὕ ταμίαν Δόκιμον ὕ γραμματέα Στρατοκλὴν Ἐλευσί-
νιον ὕ ἱερέα vacat to end of line*

The spaces clearly mark off each officer and reveal that *Ἐλευσίνιον* is not the name of the priest (as the initial editor published it), but rather the demotic (uniquely included) of the secretary Stratokles.¹⁴ The name of the priest was never inscribed, apparently because the cutter did not know it; thus, the sixth crown, which was reserved for his name, has no name inscribed in it.

13. For the form, see L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* I, *Phonology* (Berlin 1980) 334, who notes attested examples only in IG II² 347 and 501, both of the fourth century B.C.

14. This Stratokles is very probably identical with the Stratokles (no demotic given) who served two years later during Hieron's year (249/8) as secretary of the *thiasotai* of Bendis (IG II² 1317b line 14 [III]). Eleusinos as a proper name is not attested in Attica before the first century A.D. See the entries *s.v.* in LGPN II.



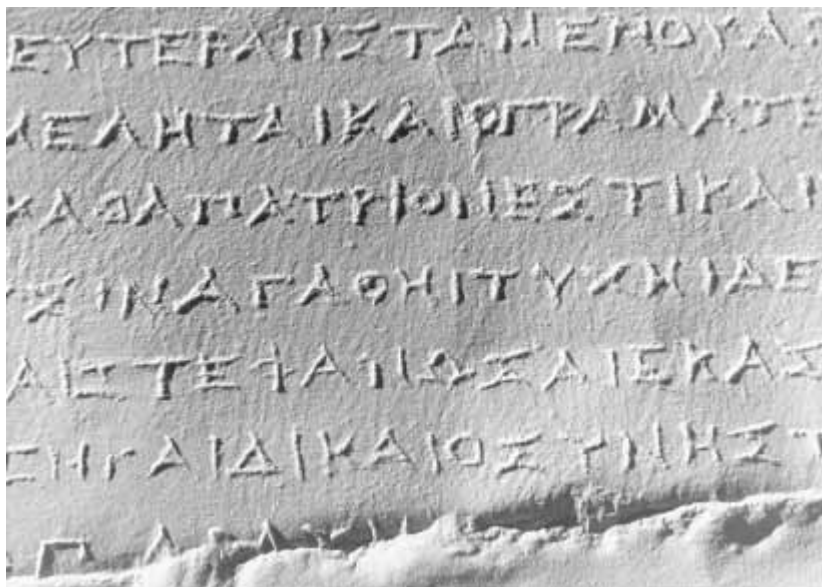


Figure 46. Piraeus inv. no. 6657 lines 2–8.

Piraeus Museum inv. no. 6657 (fig. 46)

Line 3. The cutter inscribed only one mu in the title *γραμματεὺς*.

Line 4. The connective *τε* has been omitted; read *τῶν τε θυσιῶν*.

Line 8. The numeral is set off before and after with one blank space.

Dow first studied *IG* II² 1317b and *SEG* II nos. 9 and 10 and concluded that they were the work of one man and produced in the same shop.¹⁵ This is undoubtedly correct. Piraeus Museum inv. no. 6657, as the initial editor Steinhauer pointed out, is also the same workmanship.¹⁶ This workman appears to have been localized on Salamis and in Piraeus, where he inscribed texts, so far as is known to us, only for various groups associated with the worship of Bendis.¹⁷ He does not use the *stoichedon* style and observes syllabification at line-end.¹⁸ He does not employ blank spaces in the bodies of his measures; he does use them to set off names and numerals.

15. "New Kinds of Evidence for Dating Polyektos," 65–70 and pls. III–IV.

16. "*Νεότερα στοιχεῖα*," 32–33.

17. The find spots of his inscriptions where known are all from the island of Salamis. The find spot of *IG* II² 1284 is unknown, but its similarity to *IG* II² 1283, which was found in Piraeus, suggests that it too came from Piraeus.

18. The single exception is line 32 of *IG* II² 1284.

The Cutter of IG II² 788

Dates: ca. 260 – ca. 235

This man was one of the master cutters of his time; I have previously discussed and illustrated his work.¹ He inscribed neatly and often used a *stichedon* arrangement. Particularly in the case of epsilon, sigma, tau, and upsilon, he thickened the ends of strokes somewhat to create what may be described as nascent serifs. Among his most distinctive letter-shapes are alpha, sigma, and upsilon (fig. 47). He rather often leaves the apex of alpha open and makes the left slanting stroke shorter. The lower half of sigma is normally much larger than the upper, and the angle of the two strokes that compose it is distinctly wider. Upsilon is composed of three strokes: the vertical is about half the height of the letter or slightly more; the left part of the surmounting **v** is normally longer and more horizontal than the right.

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

(Asterisked inscriptions are new to the dossier.)

IG II ² 562	<i>Hesperia</i> 57 (1988) 317 (= SEG 38 no. 91).
IG II ² 584 and 679	Archon [Polyeuktos] (250/49). A. Wilhelm, "Attische Urkunden III," <i>SBWien</i> 202 (1925) 50–55 = <i>Kleine Schriften</i> I.1, <i>Akademieschriften</i> (Leipzig 1974) 510–515.
IG II ² 680	Archon Polyeuktos (250/49).
IG II ² 681	Archon [Hieron] (249/8). EM 12801 and Agora I 7160 are part (see n. 5 below).

1. "Two Attic Letter-Cutters of the Third Century B.C.," *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 311–322 and pls. 86–87.

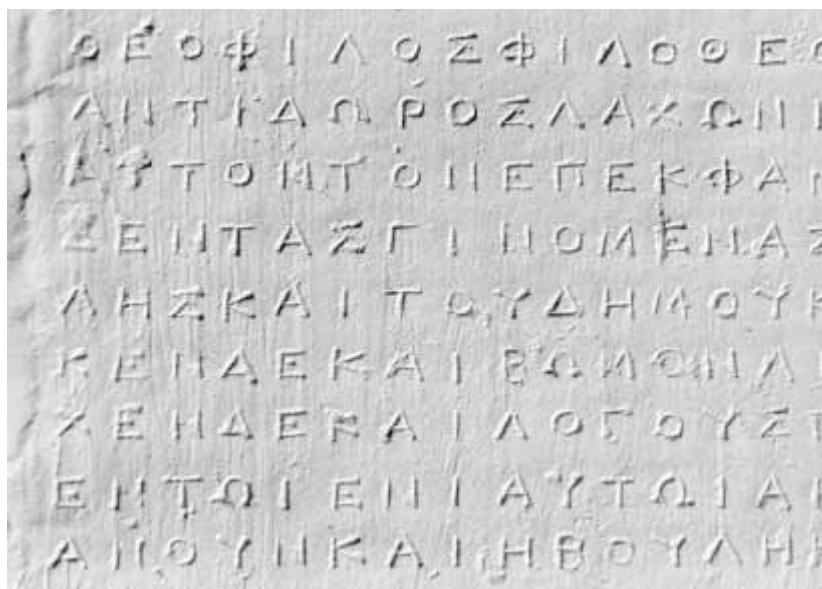


Figure 47. IG II² 788 lines 7–16.

- IG II² 682 Bringmann, *Schenkungen* no. 15. On the date, see S. Tracy, "Two Attic Letter-Cutters of the Third Century B.C.," *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 313. SEG 39 no. 122, 42 no. 101. Kirchner-Klaffenbach, *Imagines*² no. 86.
- IG II² 683 (fig. 48) Archon Hieron (249/8). Clinton, *Eleusis* no. 192.
- IG II² 693
+ *IG II² 729 + 442²
(fig. 50 below)
- IG II² 747 and
addendum p. 666
- IG II² 749 *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 317, 323–327 (= SEG 38 no. 98).
- IG II² 765 Archon Philoneos (247/6).
- IG II² 766 Archon [Kydenor] (245/4). IG II² 750, Agora I 1367, 3319, 3722, 4162, and EM 12800 +

2. A. Wilhelm noted the join in AM 39 (1914) 266.

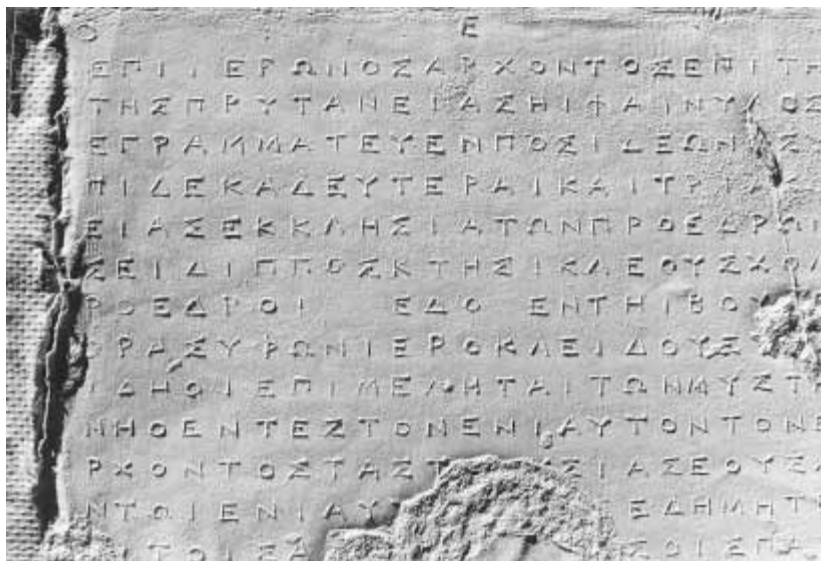


Figure 48. IG II² 683 lines 1–14.

- 2463 belong. *Hesperia* 17 (1948) 4–7; 57 (1988) 317–319 (= SEG 38 no. 100).
- +IG II² 768 + 802 Archon [A]ntimachos (256/5). For the date, see below 146–147.
- +IG II² 769 + 441 Archon [Antimachos] (256/5). For a text of the combined fragments by B.D. Meritt, see *AJP* 66 (1945) 241–242.
- IG II² 770 Archon Kleomachos (255/4). *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 319 (= SEG 38 no. 95).
- IG II² 778 Archon Thersilochos (251/0). Agora I 4622 joins this. Schmitt, *Staatsverträge* no. 487; *Agora* XVI no. 208. On the restoration of lines 14–16, see Ph. Gauthier, “Symbola athéniens et tribunaux étrangers à l’époque hellénistique,” *BCH* 123 (1999) 157–174, esp. 160–164.
- IG II² 779 (fig. 49) Schmitt, *Staatsverträge* no. 487.
- IG II² 781 (fig. 56 below) Archon [Thersilochos] (251/0).



Figure 49. IG II² 779.

IG II ² 787	Archon [Ekphantos] (235/4). <i>GRBS</i> 20 (1979) 334–342.
IG II ² 788 (fig. 47)	Archon Ly[s]anias (234/3). Kirchner-Klaffenbach, <i>Imagines</i> ² no. 91.
IG II ² 790	Archon Lysanias (234/3). Agora I 5531 belongs. <i>Agora</i> XV no. 115.
IG II ² 791	Archon Diomedon (248/7). Agora I 4536a and b join. <i>Agora</i> XVI no. 213. Kirchner-Klaffenbach, <i>Imagines</i> ² no. 90.
IG II ² 793	<i>Hesperia</i> 57 (1988) 313, 320 (= <i>SEG</i> 38 no. 96).
IG II ² 795	Archon Theophemos (246/5).
IG II ² 798	M. J. Osborne provides a new text in <i>ZPE</i> 78 (1989) 234–236 (= <i>SEG</i> 39 no. 125) and photograph on plate XVa.
IG II ² 799	<i>HSCP</i> 48 (1937) 114 n. 2.
*IG II ² 813	
IG II ² 828	<i>SEG</i> 38 no. 98.

IG II ² 845	Pritchett-Meritt, <i>Chronology</i> 104–108; <i>Hesperia</i> 57 (1988) 320 (= SEG 38 no. 97).
IG II ² 857	<i>Hesperia</i> 57 (1988) 320 (= SEG 38 no. 89).
IG II ² 879	
IG II ² 1285	<i>Hesperia</i> 57 (1988) 320–321 (= SEG 38 no. 131). Clinton, <i>Eleusis</i> no. 194.
IG II ² 1289	For an improved text of lines 13–17, J. D. Sosin, "Two Attic Endowments," <i>ZPE</i> 138 (2002) 125–128.
IG II ² 1297	Archon Kimon (236/5).
IG II ² 1298	Archon Diomedon (248/7).
IG II ² 1299	Archon [Ekphantos] (235/4). F. G. Maier, <i>Die griechischen Mauerbauinschriften</i> , <i>Vestigia</i> 1–2 (Heidelberg 1959–1961) no. 22. Clinton, <i>Eleusis</i> no. 196.
IG II ² 1705	Agora I 3951 joins (<i>Hesperia</i> 8 [1939] 45–47) and I 922 belongs (<i>Hesperia</i> 57 [1988] 314–315 = SEG 38 no. 158).
* IG II ² 2971	ADT 171–174. Clinton, <i>Eleusis</i> no. 195.
* Acropolis Museum inv. no. 13371	Archon Polyuktos (250/49). G. S. Dontas, "The True Aglaurion," <i>Hesperia</i> 52 (1983) 48–63.
Agora I 23	Agora XVI no. 204.
Agora I 131	<i>Hesperia</i> 3 (1934) 60.
* Agora I 664	Agora XV no. 113.
Agora I 672	Agora XVI no. 209.
Agora I 1497a, b	<i>Hesperia</i> 57 (1988) 315–316; <i>Agora</i> XVI no. 210.
* Agora I 1679	Agora XV no. 116. ³
Agora I 1999	Agora XV no. 100.
Agora I 3870	Agora XVI no. 211.

3. At *ALC* 43 I included this inscription, wrongly I now think, in the list of inscriptions in the style of the Cutter of Agora I 787. Despite the difficulties of legibility caused by the worn surface, I am convinced, based on the shapes of sigma and upsilon, the appearance of the perfect design, and the use of *vacats*, that this text is the work of the present cutter.

- Agora I 4138 Archon Lysias (237/6). *Agora* XVI no. 218.
For a new text and discussion, see Ch. Pélékidis, "Un décret en l'honneur de l'archonte Lysias?" in *TIMAI J. Triantaphyllopoulos*, ed. J. Velissaropoulou-Karakosta (Athens 2000) 145–157.
- Agora I 4526 *Agora* XVI no. 212.
- Agora I 4871 *Agora* XV no. 108.
- Agora I 4929 *Agora* XV no. 119.
- Agora I 5191 Archon [Ky]denor (245/4). *Agora* XVI no. 217.
- Agora I 6064 Archon Kydenor (245/4). *Agora* XVI no. 216.
(fig. 54 below)
- Agora I 7160 *Hesperia* 59 (1990) 543–547.
- Eleusis inv. no. E 153 Archon Hieron (249/8). Clinton, *Eleusis* no. 682.
- * Eleusis inv. no. E 686⁴ Clinton, *Eleusis* no. 185.
- EM 3381 Unpublished.
- * EM 12801 Unpublished; part of Agora I 7160.⁵
- * Decree of *thiasotai* Archon Thersilochos (251/0). Unpublished.⁶

INSCRIPTIONS IN THE STYLE OF

- IG II² 744
- +IG II² 928
- IG II² 1304b Archon Philinos (259/8). Moretti, *ISE* no. 20;
Clinton, *Eleusis* no. 184.
- IG II² 2979
- +Agora I 489 *Hesperia* 3 (1934) 63–64.

4. I am grateful to Kevin Clinton for bringing this inscription to my attention.

5. The new piece, to be published by D. P. Delmousoy, reveals that Agora I 7160 and EM 12801 are parts of the decree that appeared above IG II² 681 which lists the ephebes of Polyeuktos' year. This invalidates the argument in my *editio princeps* of Agora I 7160 for a date at the time of the Chremonidean War.

6. This inscription was found at the sanctuary of Herakles in Pankrati. I thank A. G. Kaloyeropoulou for allowing me to see it in advance of publication.



Figure 50. IG II² 729 + 442.

Agora I 4323

Archon [Polyeu]ktos (250/49). *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 121–123.⁷

+ Agora I 4495

Hesperia 16 (1947) 185–187.

+ Agora I 5269

Agora XVII no. 1030a.

Agora I 5559

Archon Philoneos (247/6). Pritchett-Meritt, *Chronology* 22–23; Agora XVI no. 214.

IG II² 729 + 442 (fig. 50)

A. Wilhelm joined these two fragments but offered no text. Since the text of this measure has interesting parallels with another inscription by this cutter, I take this opportunity to provide a full new text. This is a fragment of whitish gray marble with part of the left side preserved.

7. I owe thanks to John Morgan, who suggested that this might be the work of the II² 788 Cutter. The presence of the perfect design and the general shapes of the letters, though extremely worn, are wholly characteristic.

ca. a. 255 a.

STOICH. 37

ca. 8 lines lost

- 1 [.....¹⁵ εὖνους ὦν διατελεῖ τῶι δῆμ]-
 ωι τῶ[ι] Ἀ[θηναίων καὶ νῦν γενομένων ἐπιδόσεων]
 ἐπιδέδωκ[εν τῶι] δῆμω[ι εἰς τὴν τῆς πόλεως φυλα]-
 4 κήν ἀργυρίου^v X^v δρα[χμάς, ^v ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ κ]-
 αὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν χρήσιμος ἔσθαι τῶι δῆμωι κ]-
 αθότι ἂν εἰ δυνατός^v [ἀγαθεὶ τύχει δεδόχθαι τ]-
 7 εἰ βουλῇ τοὺς προέδ[ρους οἱ ἂν λάχωσιν προεδ]-
 ρεύειν ἐν τῶι δῆμωι, ὅταν ἐ[ξήκωσιν αἱ ἐκ τοῦ νό]-
 [μου] ἡμέραι, χρηματίσαι περ[ὶ τούτων ἐν τῇ πρώ]-
 10 [τῇ ἐκκλη]σίαι, ^v γνῶ[μ]ην δὲ ξ[υμβάλλεσθαι τῆς β]-
 [ουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον] ὅτι δοκ[εῖ τεῖ βουλῇ ἐπαι]-
 [νέσαι¹³] πολὶ[.....¹⁵]

The actual readings do not differ from those reported in *IG* except in line 2. The first four letters of that line are legible; Kirchner, following Koehler, read only the third, the tau. Note also that I accept Kirchner's and Koehler's report of a slanting stroke in line 2 (my dotted alpha) and Kirchner's dotted pi in the final line, though I can see no certain trace of either on the stone or on the squeezes available to me.

Except for lines 2 and 3, the restorations are routine. The phrase in line 3 [εἰς τὴν τῆς πόλεως φυλα]κὴν, though largely restored, seems certain. This turn of phrase occurs in just one other Attic inscription: to be precise, in lines 11–12 of *IG* II² 768 + 802, a stele also inscribed by this cutter.⁸ A. Wilhelm first brought these two inscriptions together in 1914 and two years later provided a text (fig. 51) of the combined fragments.⁹ If one compares this text with the present text, one immediately perceives that they are very similar.¹⁰ Indeed, the wording of lines 15 to 19 exactly matches lines 7 to 11 of the present text. Moreover it appears to be far more than coincidental that lines 4 to 7 of the present text can be used to fill out the lacuna left by Wilhelm in lines 12 to 15 of II² 768 + 802, as follows:

8. For a text of these lines, see the addendum to *IG* II² 768 in *IG* II² p. 667. Although he does not treat either of these texts, see F. Gschnitzer, "Volksbeschlüsse 'Zum Schutz des Landes' und 'Zur Rettung der Stadt,'" *Panteios* (1981) 143–164, for an interesting discussion of these phrases.

9. *AM* 39 (1914) 266; "Attische Urkunden II," *SBWien* 180 (1916) 11–13 = *Kleine Schriften* I.1, *Akademieschriften* (Leipzig 1974) 435–437.

10. For convenience's sake, I use Wilhelm's line numbers. Note that they differ, being one line less than *IG*, because he did not number the heading [θ]εο[ί].

	[Θ]	ε	ο	[ι.]
	[Ἐπ' Ἀ]ντιμάχου [ἔρχ]ο[ν]τος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰππο[θωντίδος δ-] [εκ]άτης πρυτανείας ἡι Χα[ι]ρ[ι]γένης [Χαιριγένου-] [ς Μν]ουρινούσι[ος ν.] ἐγ[ρ]αμμ[ά]τευεν· [Μ]ο[νιχιῶνος ἐ-] [νδεκάτ]ει, μ[ι]ᾶ[ι κα]ὶ εἰκοσ[τ]εῖ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἔκ- 5 [κλη]σία κυρία· [τῶν] προ[έ]δ[ρω]ν ἐπ[ε]ψήφισεν] [. . .]ς Ἀριστομ[άχο]ν Παλλ[ην] εἰς καὶ [συμπρόεδροι·] [ἔδο]ξεν τῇ βο[υλῇ] καὶ τ[ῶ]ι δ[ήμ]ωι Σ[.] [. . .]ένου Προβ[αλίσι]ος [εἶπεν· ν.] ἐπ[ε]ιδὴ . . . ἰας εὐ- [νου]ς ὧν διατε[λεῖ τ]ῶι δ[ήμ]ωι τ[ῶ]ι Ἀθηναίων καὶ νῦ- 10 [ν γεν]ομένων [ἐπιδό]σ[ε]ων εἰ[ς τ.] Δ[. καὶ ε-] [ἰς τὴν] τῆς πό[λεω]ς [φ]υλακὴν [ἐπέδ]ω[κε] καὶ ἀργυρ[ίου]			
15	[. τοὺς πρόεδρους οἱ ἂν λάχουσιν προεδρε-] [ύε]ιν ἐν τῶι δ[ήμ]ωι [ὅταν ἐ]ξ[ήκωσιν αἱ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου] [ἡμ]έραι χρημ[ατί]σαι [πε]ρ[ὶ] τούτων ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐ- [κκ]λησί[αι], γνώμ[ην] δὲ ξυμβ[άλλεσθαι] τῆς βουλῆς ε- [ἰς] τ[ὸ]ν δῆμον [ὅτι] δοκεῖ [τ]ῇ[ι] βουλῇ ἐπαινέσαι . .] 20 [. .]ίαν Ἀκροτ[.]ου Περγαμ[ι]τῶν εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν τ- [ῆς] πρὸς τὴν β[ου]λὴν καὶ τὸν δ[ῆμον] τὸν Ἀθηναίων κ- [αὶ] δεδόσθαι αὐ[τῶ]ι καὶ ἐγγ[όνοις] ἰσοτέλειαν κα- [ὶ] ἐ[ν]νεκ[τ]ησι[ν οὐκ]α[ς] τιμῆμα[τος XXX? καὶ] εἰσαγαγε- [ῖν α]ὐτῶι [τὴν] δοκ[ι]μασίαν [τῆς] δωρεᾶς τοὺς θεσμο- 25 [θέτ]α[ς] εἰς τὸ δι[κ]α[στήρι]ον ὅταν ἀναπληρῶσι δικ- [αστή]ρια· ἀναγ[ρ]άψαι [δ]ὲ τό[δε] τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλῃ- [ι λιθί]νῃ καὶ σ[τή]σαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀν- [ά]θρ[ο]νον μερίσαι τὸν ἐπ[ὶ] τῇ διοικήσει τὸ γενόμε- [νον ἀνά]λωμα].			

Figure 51. Facsimile of Wilhelm's text of IG II² 768 + 802.

- 12 . . καὶ ἀργυρ[ίου] ὦ X ὦ δραχμάς, ὦ ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ]
[καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν χρήσιμος ἔσσεσθαι τῶι δῆμωι κ]-
[αθότι ἂν εἰ δυνατός· ὦ ἀγαθεὶ τύχει δεδόχθαι τε]-
15 [ὶ βουλῇ τοὺς κτλ.]

Note also that lines 9 to 10 of II² 768 + 802 provide the exact wording for the restoration of the first two lines of the present decree.

In general, the wording of these two decrees is so similar that they were almost certainly proposed by the same speaker. Furthermore, the two in-

scriptions, when first produced, were all but identical in their dimensions, letter-height, and so on. The preserved thicknesses as recorded in IG II² are close to identical, viz. 0.15 and 0.155 m. II² 768 + 802 has a *stoichedon* arrangement with 38 letters to the line and a letter-height of 0.005 m; its text fills 28 and one-third lines. The present text has the same size letters and a *stoichedon* line of 37 letters in length. In size and appearance it must have been nearly the exact twin of II² 768 + 802. This all suggests that the decrees were probably inscribed very close together in time; they may very well have been passed at the same meeting. Each text originally had about 1,100 letters plus a crown. Such a text would have been about three to four days' work. It is not improbable, by the way, if I am correct in suggesting that the decrees were passed at the same meeting, that they should have been inscribed by the same cutter.¹¹

These two texts, however, are clearly not two copies of the same decree, for different individuals are honored. A citizen of Pergamon, very probably (as I suggested in 1988) [Aisch]ias son of Akrot[im]os,¹² is honored by II² 768 + 802. Although the name of the honorand of the present text is largely lost, his patronymic included the letters *ΠΟΛΙ*. The exact wording describing their benefactions also differs—compare lines 3–4 of the present decree with lines 10–12 of II² 768 + 802. The present honorand, it appears, simply contributed money “for the safeguarding of the city” (lines 3–4), whereas [Aisch]ias did this and something more.¹³ This being so, the honors conferred (lines 22–23 of II² 768 + 802, lost on the present decree) probably also differed somewhat.¹⁴

IG II² 768 + 802

The restoration of lines 10 to 12 of II² 768 + 802 is problematic, but I think can be improved. In 1916 Wilhelm originally suggested

10 [ν γεν]ομένων [ἐπιδό]σ[ε]ων εἰ[s τ.] Δ[. καὶ ε]-
[ἰς τὴν] τῆς πό[λεως] [φ]υλακὴν [ἐπέδ]ω[κε]
.. καὶ ἀργυρ[ίου] . . .

11. On this point, see ADT 111.

12. “Two Attic Letter-Cutters” 319; see IG II² 2817 for another relative.

13. L. Migeotte, *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques* (Quebec 1992) discusses IG II² 768 + 802 (pp. 26–27, 339–340), but does not know the name of the man honored. He makes no mention of IG II² 729, despite the fact that it records a contribution of 1,000 drachmas for the safety of the city.

14. See Peçirka's discussion in *Enktesis* 104–106 for the benefactions rendered and honors conferred by II² 768 + 802.

A. Kuenzi discussed this passage in his doctoral dissertation of 1922 and concluded that one had to read the second half of line 10 as either $\epsilon\iota[\varsigma \tau\acute{\alpha}] \delta[\dots \dots \dots \kappa\alpha\iota \epsilon]$ or $\epsilon\iota[\nu \tau\acute{\omega}\iota] \delta[\acute{\eta}\mu\omega\iota \dots \dots \dots \epsilon]$. He surmised (correctly) that the vertical read by Wilhelm as the iota of the preposition $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ could be the initial vertical of nu or, for that matter, any letter with an initial vertical. Since he could find no restoration to fill the gap following the delta, he opted for the latter alternative, though he offered no suggestion to fill the resulting 8-letter lacuna after the word $\delta\acute{\eta}\mu\omega\iota$.¹⁵

In 1951 Wilhelm (posthumously) responded to Kuenzi by pointing out that there was no probable restoration for his 8-letter lacuna. He affirmed that the letter was iota—indeed, that it appeared on his squeeze clearly as such. He therefore suggested that the second half of line 10 be restored $\epsilon\iota[\varsigma \tau\acute{\alpha}] \delta[\eta\mu\acute{o}\sigma\iota\alpha \epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha \kappa\alpha\iota \epsilon]$, although he recognized that this was one letter more than the *stoichedon* order allowed.¹⁶ Peçirka called this an improvement and Migeotte prints it with no warning that it violates the *stoichedon* pattern.¹⁷ However, this restoration is unlikely to be correct, especially when there exists at hand a highly probable one that exactly suits the lacuna. As to the stroke in question being an iota, it could be. But although it occurs in a very worn area, it is clearly situated in the left part of its *stoichos* directly above the left vertical of the nu of $\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\eta}\nu$. It is, *pace* Wilhelm, more likely to be part of nu or pi than an iota. The correct solution to the restoration of the second half of line 10 is provided by the opening of line 3 of IG II² 729 + 442. We should thus restore the second half of line 10 and the next two lines as follows:

10 $[\nu \gamma\epsilon\nu]ο\acute{\mu}\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu [\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\delta\acute{o}]σ[\epsilon]ων \acute{\epsilon}\pi[ι\delta\acute{\epsilon}]δ[ω\kappa\epsilon\nu \tau\acute{\omega}\iota \delta\acute{\eta}\mu\omega\iota \epsilon]-$
 $[\iota\varsigma \tau\acute{\eta}\nu] \tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma π\acute{o}[\lambda\epsilon\omega]\varsigma [\phi]\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\eta}\nu \dots \Omega \dots \dots \dots$
 $\dots \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho[ί\omicron\upsilon] \dots \dots$

The letter stroke in question is the first vertical of the pi of $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon\nu$.

Clearly [Aisch]ias of Pergamon contributed more than a sum of money. Whatever that was must have been recorded in the lacuna at the end of line 11 and beginning of line 12. I can confirm in line 11 the reading of omega with four letters lost before it. It is very likely to be part of a genitive plural ending from a word for a commodity that parallels $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ in line 12. One of the initial editors of this text, A. R. Rangabé, whose readings are on

15. A. Kuenzi, *ΕΠΙΔΟΣΙΣ* (Bern 1923) 25, 54–55.

16. A. Wilhelm, *Πραγματεῖαι Ἀκαδ. Ἀθηνῶν* 17 (1951) 4 = *Kleine Schriften* I.3, *Akademieschriften* (Leipzig 1974) 398.

17. Peçirka, *Enktesis* 105; Migeotte, *Les souscriptions publiques* 26.

the whole very reliable, recorded three letters before omega, viz. *PIΘ*.¹⁸ He read and restored [κ]ριθῶ[ν μεδίμνους]. This restoration was rejected as doubtful by Kuenzi and Peçirka in their discussions of this passage cited above, presumably because there are no parallels for the contribution in the context of *epidoseis* of anything other than money. Still, the food supply was a constant matter of concern, crucial for the safety of the city. I do not think that Rangabé's reading should be dismissed as wrong or fabricated. The texts of IG II² 360 line 9, 499 line 17, and 654 line 26 attest that the verb ἐπιδίδωμι is the *vox propria* for giving grain. The gift of food and money to the Athenians is known from two texts, IG II² 682 lines 29–30 and 894 line 4, both royal donations; these texts reveal that the combination here is not impossible.

Indeed Rangabé's readings in the next line give a valuable clue to the correct restoration of the sum of money donated in line 12. (My restoration above for the sake of illustration simply repeated exactly the text of II² 729, even though, as also pointed out above, there is good reason to think that the specific benefactions of the two men did in fact differ.) Rangabé reports an eta—that is, the numeral 100—under the upsilon of *φυλακῆν* and the first two letters of the word “drachmas” under the alpha and kappa. We should, therefore, now restore this difficult part of the text in the following manner.

10 [ν γε]ν[ομένων] [ἐπιδό]σ[ε]ω[ν] ἐπ[ιδέ]δ[ωκεν] τῶι δῆμωι ἐ-
[ἰς τὴν] τῆς πόλ[εω]ς [φ]υλακὴν [κ]ριθῶ[ν] . . . μεδύμνο]-
[υς] καὶ ἀργυρ[ίου] ^vH H^v δρ[αχμάς], ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ]
κτλ.

The four spaces in line 11 contained a number surrounded by blank spaces—say, for example, ${}^vXX^v$.

The entire text of *IG II² 768 + 802* will thus be (with line numbers changed from Wilhelm's to include the heading):

a. $256/5$ a.

STOICH. 38

¹ [Θ] ε ο [ί]
[Επ'] Ἀντιμάχου [ἄρ]χο[v]τος ἐπὶ τῆς Ὑποο[θωντίδος δι]-
[εκ]άτης πρυτα[νεύ]ας ἡ Χά[u]ρ<ι>γένης [Χαιριγένου]-
⁴ [s Μυ]ρρινούσι[ος °] ἐγραμμάτευεν· [Μ]ο[υνιχιώνος ἐ]-
[νδε]κά[τ]ει μ[i]â[i κα]ὶ ἐικοσ[τ]εῖ τῆς πρυ[τανείας· ἐκ]-
[κλησία κυρία· τῶν] προέδ[ρω]ν ἐπ[ε]ψή[ζεν]

- 7 [. . .]_ς Ἀριστομ[άχο]υ Παλλ[η]νεὺς καὶ [συμπρόεδροι]
 [ἔδο]ξεν τῇ βου[λῇ]ι καὶ τ[ῶ]ι δ[ή]μωι Σ[.¹¹]
 [. . .]ένου Προβ[αλίσι]ος εἰ[ῖ]πε[ν^ο] ἐπ[ειδὴ Αἰσ[χ]ίας εὔ]-
 10 [νου]ς ὧν διατελ[εῖ] τ[ῶ]ι δ[ή]μ[ω]ι τ[ῶ]ι Ἀ[θηναίων καὶ νῦ]-
 [ν γεν]ομένων [ἐπιδό]σ[ε]ων ἐπ[ιδέ]δω[κεν τῶ]ι δ[ή]μωι εἰ-
 [ς τὴν] τῆς πόλ[εω]ς [φ]υλακὴν [κ]ριθῶ[ν μεδίμνο]-
 13 [υς] καὶ ἀργυρ[ίου^ο H]H^ο δρ[αχμάς, ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ]
 [καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν χρήσιμος ἔσεσθαι τῶ]ι δ[ή]μωι κ]-
 [αθότι ἂν εἰ δυνατός^ο ἀγαθεὶ τύχει δεδοχθαι τε]-
 16 [ὶ βουλῇι τοὺς προέδρους οἱ ἂν λάχωσιν προεδρε]-
 [ύει]εν ἐν τῶ]ι δ[ή]μωι, [ὅταν ἐ]ξ[ή]κωσιν αἱ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου]
 [ῆμ]έραι, χρημα[τί]σαι π[ε]ρ[ὶ] τούτων ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐ]-
 19 [κκ]λησίαι, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβ[άλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰ]-
 [ς] τὸν δῆμον [ὅ]τι δοκεῖ [τ]ῇ[ι] βουλῇι ἐπαινέσαι Αἰ]-
 [σχ]ίαν Ἀκροτ[ί]μου Περγαμη[νὸν εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν τ]-
 22 [ῆς] πρὸς τὴν βου[λ]ήν καὶ τὸν δ[ή]μον τὸν Ἀθηναίων κ]-
 [αὶ] δεδοσθαι [αὐ]τῶ]ι καὶ ἐγγ[όνοις ἰσοτέλειαν κα]-
 [ὶ ἔ]νκτησιν [οἰκί]α[ς] τιμήμα[τος εἰσαγαγεῖν]
 25 [δὲ αὐ]τῶ]ι [τὴν] δοκ[ι]μασίαν [τῆς] δωρεᾶς τοὺς θεσμο]-
 [θέτ]α[ς] εἰς τὸ δι[κ]α[σ]τήριον ὅταν ἀναπληρῶσι δικ]-
 [αστήρια· ἀναγ]ρ[άψ]αι [δ]ε τό[δε] τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλῃ]-
 28 [ι λιθίνῃ καὶ] σ[τ]ῆσαι ἐν [ἀκροπόλει, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀν]-
 [άθειςιν μερίσαι τ]ὸν ἐπ[ὶ τῇ] διοικήσει τὸ γενόμε]-
 [ενον ἀνάλωμα.] *vacat*

These stones physically join, so there can be no question about the fact of their belonging together. Careful layout of the preserved letters on graph paper, however, reveals that there is a discrepancy in length of the name of the man honored in lines 9 and 20/21. It is 6 letters in line 9 and 7 in lines 20/21. Although the restoration of the name [Aisch]ias is not certain, it appears quite probable. We must assume then that the cutter in the latter part of line 9 either made a mistake or that he crowded one of the iotas into a *stoichos* with another letter. This workman rarely makes mistakes, but he does very occasionally include iota in the same space with another letter.¹⁹ It should also be noted that the end of line 24 and the beginning of 25 may also be restored following Wilhelm as [. . . καὶ εἰσαγαγε / ἰν α]ὐτῶι.

The speaker from the deme Probalinthos, whose name is fragmentarily preserved in lines 8 to 9, cannot be identified. There are only two other pro-

19. See n. 50 below for examples.

posers of measures in the assembly from Probalinthos known: [*Μνήσαρχος Τιμοστρά*]του (if he has been correctly restored in line 9 of IG II² 734)²⁰ of the year 303/2 and *Δημήτριος Κτήσωνος* of the early second century B.C.²¹ Neither, of course, can be identical with or is obviously related to the present individual.

The date of the archon Antimachos remains uncertain. He should be placed, it seems, soon after the Chremonidean War, probably somewhere in the years 260 to 255 B.C. (below 146–147).

IG II² 928

This inscription is dated by Kirchner *ad loc.* “*c. init. s. II.*” If I am correct in making this attribution, Penteteris’ priestesshood must be moved back to *ca.* the year 245 B.C. She is also known on a dedication, II² 3471, and on a statue base, II² 3470, of the sculptors Kaikosthenes and Dies. They are known, together or separately, on the following bases: II² 2800, 3472, 3864, and 4285–4288. None has a compelling date; Kirchner *ad loc.* in the corpus dated all the above-mentioned texts to 200–150, except II² 3864, which he indicated as “*init. s. II a.*” Nothing prevents an earlier date for the entire ensemble.

The most compelling prosopographical connection in these texts is provided by the epebe of 138/7, Eumareides, son of Euphanes (*FdD* III.2 no. 23 II line 21), who will now, with this earlier date for the work of Kaikosthenes and Dies, be not the son of the general Euphanes, son of Epigenes, of Euyonymon honored by the Salaminians on a base of Dies (II² 2800), but a more distant relative. The same will be true of Alkidamos, son of Euphanes, also known at Delphi (*FdD* III.2 no. 33). These two are probably brothers, for they served as mint magistrates together about the year 113 on the low chronology.²²

ADNOTATIUNCULAE

IG II² 769 + 441

A. Wilhelm in *AM* 39 (1914) 266 noted the join of these two fragments, but offered no text. B. D. Meritt provided a text in *AJP* 66 (1945) 241–

20. The restoration is by Ch. Karapa, who joined EM 4614 (*ArchDelt* 29.1 [1974] 159–163). In making it she was following a suggestion of A. Wilhelm (*Hermes* 24 [1889] 151). Osborne, *Naturalization* no. D46, re-edited this text.

21. IG II² 891 of 188/7 and 897 of 185/4.

22. M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens* (New York 1961) 566, and Ch. Habicht, “Zu den Münzmagistraten der Silberprägung des Neuen Stils,” *Chiron* 21 (1991) 9.

242. He gave the name of the speaker in lines 9–10 as *Λυκομήδης Δι[. Δ]ου[σιεύς]*. The name of this speaker can now be restored from line 23 of Agora I 7043 (Agora XV no. 89) of Philinos' year (255/4) as *Λυκομήδης Δι[οχάρου Κον]θυ[λήθεν]*. The letters Meritt read as *OY* are *ΘY*. In that decree he proposed to the *boule* honors for their officers. The present measure too he proposed before the *boule*, thus making him one of those known to have served twice in that body.²³ He has also very plausibly been restored as the speaker of IG II² 777, a measure passed in Kallimedes' year (253/2) in honor of a man who was probably in the service of King Antigonos Gonatas.²⁴

The reference to Rhodians in line 11 is intriguing; they do not occur frequently in inscriptions from Attica.²⁵

Agora I 489

Below and to the left of the preserved text appear the remains of an incised crown. Part of one line of text is legible in the crown; these letters are 0.005 m in height in contrast to those above, which are 0.008 m. They read *OIEY*[--], perhaps *οἱ συ[νέφηβοι]*. If this is correct, this would be far the earliest occurrence of this term in Athenian inscriptions. Most attestations belong to the first to third centuries A.D.; see IG II² 1970, 1971, 1977, etc. There are several from the first century B.C., the earliest being IG II² 3730 of about 50 B.C.²⁶ Prior to this, Aischines in the fourth century B.C. used this word in a nontechnical sense to mean "fellow youths."²⁷ It also appears

23. As noted by P. J. Rhodes in an appendix to "Ephebi, Bouleutae, and the Population of Athens," *ZPE* 38 (1980) 199. For others, see Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule* (Oxford 1972) 242–243; "More Members Serving Twice in the Athenian Boule," *ZPE* 41 (1981) 101–102; "Members Serving Twice in the Athenian Boule and the Population of Athens Again," *ZPE* 57 (1984) 200–202; and S. Tracy, "An Athenian Decree of the Year 335/4 B.C.," *Hesperia* 67 (1998) 220. For yet another, see 176 below.

24. Habicht, *Studien* 202. If this restoration is correct, then he served not twice but *thrice* as a member of the council (above 23).

The priest of Asklepios known from IG II² 1534B is probably not identical with him, but perhaps, as S. Aleshire suggests (*The Athenian Asklepieion: The People, Their Dedications, and the Inventories* [Amsterdam 1989] 322–323), his grandfather.

25. We find them most notably in Agora I 7360, published in *Hesperia* 49 (1980) 251–255. This measure honors several Rhodians for aiding at a time of crisis with the food supply about the year 285. On the date, see *ADT* 35, 157, and also A. G. Woodhead in *Agora* XVI no. 106G.

26. The others are II² 1043 of 38/7 and II² 1965 from near the end of the century.

27. 1.49, 2.167.

as the title of a comedy performed about the year 200 B.C.²⁸ By then, the ephebeia as an institution was more than a century old; hence the title probably carried the technical connotation of fellow ephebe. It no doubt had similar connotations, if the restoration is correct, on the present inscription and seemingly attests to the existence, around the middle of the third century B.C., of a more or less formal group of classmates acting in concert.

Agora I 4495

This fragment comes from the lower left side of an inscription praising ephebes. There are four other known ephebic texts inscribed by this cutter, namely, *IG II*² 681, 766, 787, and *Agora I* 4323. On textual grounds this one cannot be part of *IG II*² 681, 766, or 787. Moreover, the marble of this piece (described as "Hymettian") differs from that of *I* 4323 (described as "Pentelic"). I would characterize the color of both as gray, but the marble of the present piece is more variegated in color and has toward the back veins of orange coloring that differ from the darker veining of *I* 4323. I do not think they can come from the same stele.

It is possible to offer some small improvements in the readings of this list of ephebes.

Line 3. Καλλία[ς] Κόνωνος ---

Line 9. πος Φιλίππου Πλ[ωθεύς]

Line 13. Δι[οφ]άνη[ς] Διοκλέου[ς] ---]

Line 14. Κάλλιππο[ς] Δω[ρ]οθέου ---

Line 16. [Ἀπολ]λοφάνης Ἀπολ ---

Pritchett, the initial editor, read the patronymic in line 14 as Δε[ξι]θέου. Where he read dotted epsilon I see the characteristic feet of this cutter's omega, and there is clearly a round letter, omikron, before theta.

The ephebe in line 13 is probably identical with Diophanes, son of Diokles, of Prasiai, paymaster and councillor of the tribe Pandionis during the year 220/19 (*Agora XV* no. 130 lines 24, 44, 48, 84). The [Apol]lophanes in line 16 could be identical with Apolophanes, son of Apolophanes, of Ketos, councillor and secretary of the *prytaneis* of Leontis in the year 222/1

28. *IG II*² 2323 II line 127.

(Agora XV no. 129 lines 32, 45, 50, 94).²⁹ The other individuals do not appear to be known elsewhere.

Agora I 5269

The first letter of line 1 is somewhat abraded, but it is almost certainly an omega. We should then read [---ῥρ]ὥων κτλ.

This cutter used line-initial position and blank spaces to articulate visually major parts of texts and to set off proper names. Blank spaces left within the body of his texts, moreover, constitute one of his hallmarks.³⁰ In this he clearly follows the practice of his older contemporary, the I 3238 Cutter.

In his treatment of the opening of decrees, however, the II² 788 Cutter was the innovator, indeed a trendsetter. About the middle of the third century he adopted the “perfect design.”³¹ It was probably his growing habit of using blank spaces to articulate parts of decrees that eventually led the II² 788 Cutter to adopt this arrangement. In any case, so far as we can ascertain based on the preserved examples, from the beginning of his career he surrounded the εἰδοξεν-clause with at least one blank space on either side.³² That is, he instinctively sought to articulate the preamble, the clause of ratification, and the speaker by employing blank spaces. And, after roughly the year 250, he sought in all but two cases—IG II² 680 and *Hesperia* 52 (1983) 52, both of the year of Polyeuktos (250/49)³³—the perfect design or a modification of it. To appreciate to what degree this was intentional planning on his part, we need only consider the very extensive surviving work of the other major cutter of the time, the I 3238 Cutter. Only one of his inscriptions has the speaker at the beginning of the line, IG II² 697 of the year of Philinos (259/8).³⁴

Previous to the IG II² 788 Cutter, others had occasionally produced texts

29. There is also known in the tribe Leontis an Apollophanes Phrearrhios who made a contribution in the year 183/2 (IG II² 2332 line 85).

30. Although it is not indicated in the corpus, there is a small but distinct *vacat* left before ἀγαθεῖ in line 8 of II² 1304b.

31. Above 4–5. See also Tracy, “Two Attic Letter-Cutters” 321, for it as a particular mannerism of this cutter.

32. The only exception is line 8 of IG II² 768 + 802. There the εἰδοξεν-clause begins the line, but there was apparently no space left after it, if the stroke read as dotted sigma is in fact a stroke and not a scratch.

33. Note, however, that two other texts of this same year have the perfect design, IG II² 679 + 584 and Agora I 4323 (*Hesperia* 7 [1938] 121–123).

34. Line 13 in Dow’s edition in *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 354. He could also (by crowding in one iota) have easily achieved it, if he had cared to, in IG II² 669 line 8. He did not.

which had the orator's name begin its own line, i.e., what I term the modified perfect design.³⁵ Furthermore, there was one short period at the close of the fourth century when a number of cutters emphasized the speaker's name in this way. *IG II*² 463, of the year of Anaxikrates (307/6), has a first line of large letters spread across the stone; thus, the second began with the name of Demochares, the mover of this important measure to repair the long walls. The inscribers of *IG II*² 467, of the year of Koroibos (306/5); of *II*² 796, of the year of Euxenippos (305/4); and of *II*² 374, of ca. 304,³⁶ each left quite a large *vacat* so as to have the speaker's name begin the next line. The workman who inscribed *IG II*² 482 of the year of Pherekles (304/3) may have done it by accident, but this text too has the speaker at the beginning of line 9. In addition, during exactly these same years, the Cutters of *IG II*² 1262 and *IG II*² 498 also produced decrees with modified perfect designs. They did so by leaving blank spaces—the former in *IG II*² 455, of the year of Anaxikrates (307/6), and in *II*² 504, of the year of Nikokles (302/1); the latter in *IG II*² 358, also of the year of Anaxikrates.³⁷ Indeed, there appears to have been a concerted effort in these years to give emphasis to the names of speakers in inscribed copies of decrees.³⁸

What was the reason? These years were a time when the politicians were using inscribed measures as one way of highlighting their much-proclaimed return to democracy in the aftermath of the expulsion of Demetrios of Phaleron from control of the city. The contrast between their practice with regard to inscribing measures on stone and that under Demetrios of Phaleron is most striking. Only two inscriptions, *IG II*² 450 and 453, can certainly be assigned to the ten-year period of Demetrios; sixteen can now be attributed to the year 307/6, the first year of the new regime.³⁹ These politicians clearly considered decrees published on stone not only as visible

35. See, for examples, *IG II*² 107 of the year 368/7, *II*² 216 + 261 of 365/4, *II*² 217 of 365/4, *II*² 117 of 361/0, *II*² 209 of 349/8, *Agora XVI* no. 76 of 335/4, no. 85 of 327/6, *II*² 372 of 322/1, and *Agora XVI* no. 101 of 319/8. I am much indebted to John D. Morgan for help in compiling this list.

36. For the date, see Osborne, *Naturalization* no. D50.

37. On the date of this text, see S. Dow, "Three Athenian Decrees: Method in the Restoration of Preambles," *HSCP* 67 (1963) 58–60, and *ADT* 152.

38. The *IG II*² 478 Cutter, known to be active from 305/4 to 302/1, may have used a variation of the perfect design in *IG II*² 595. In any case he certainly emphasized the speaker with blank spaces in this text and also in EM 12962 (*Hesperia* 7 [1938] 297) of 304/3 and EM 12699 (*Hesperia* 1 [1932] 45) of 302/1. Blank spaces are also used for the same purpose in *II*² 471, 486, 496, 498, 554, *Horos* 4 (1986) 19–23, and *Agora XVI* nos. 110, 113, 123, all of the years 306/5 to 302/1.

39. Those listed in *ADT* 40 n. 21 plus *Agora I* 4953 (*Agora XVI* no. 107A).

signs of democratic action but also as offering a means of differentiating themselves from the previous regime. They surely intended these inscriptions to publicize their ostentatious claim of renewed freedom and unquestionably expected their fellow citizens to take note; thus they saw to it that their names were prominently featured in the copies set up for the public to see.⁴⁰

This political activity may have planted the seed of the design, but it did not come to fruition for another fifty years. In the intervening years, the IG II² 650 Cutter used the developed perfect design once sometime before 280⁴¹ and the workman who inscribed Agora I 7295 also used it for that measure passed in the year 270/69.⁴² Finally, the Agora I 6664 Cutter made use of the modified version once, apparently by chance, in the year 272/1.⁴³ The II² 788 Cutter thus did have some precursors, but no one before him appears to have used the design often.⁴⁴ He, by contrast, embraced the perfect design/modified perfect design and so firmly established it that it was still in use at the end of the second century B.C.⁴⁵

Two early decrees by the II² 788 Cutter that preserve enough of the opening to enable a determination have neither the perfect design nor the modified version of it. These are IG II² 769 + 441 and 768 + 802, both of the year of Antimachos. The precise year of his archonship is a matter of discussion. However, a new inscription of *thiasotai* of Herakles from Pankrati (above 86), as yet unpublished, may allow us to establish the date. This inscription records a sacrifice made by a *thiasos* in thanksgiving for a victory of King Antigonos. The inscription was to be paid for by a treasurer who held office in Antimachos' year. Although the wording is vague, the reference may well be to the Chremonidean War, which lasted until 263/2. Arrheneides was archon the next year. Antimachos, then, may have held

40. S. Tracy, "Athenian Politicians and Inscriptions of the Years 307 to 302," *Hesperia* 69 (2000) 227–233.

41. Agora I 5760 (Agora XVI no. 205). This inscription could, be it noted, date to the final years of the fourth century.

42. T. L. Shear, Jr., *Kallias of Sphettos and the Revolt of Athens in 286 B.C.*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 17 (Princeton 1978). The hand of this important measure is very idiosyncratic, but I have as yet found no other example of his writing.

43. Agora I 6696 (Agora XVI no. 186); see above 111.

44. The II² 776 Cutter, his exact contemporary, used the modified version once in Agora I 1273 (Agora XVI no. 183), a measure that dates to about the year 250.

45. The second decree of the great ephebic inscription IG II² 1028 of the year 101/0 has the modified perfect design. See further on this S. V. Tracy, *The Lettering of an Athenian Mason*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 15 (Princeton 1975) 96–97.

office during 261/0. If the reference in this inscription is not to the Chremonidean War, it must be to one of Antigonos' campaigns soon after that. I do not think that the archon Antimachos can date much after the year 255 at the latest.⁴⁶ At this time, it appears, our cutter had not yet hit on the arrangement that he soon came to favor.

If this is the case, we may derive some small help in arriving at relative dates for a few of his inscriptions. Enough of IG II² 799 survives to reveal that the speaker did not come first in his line, i.e., it had no perfect or modified perfect design. This may suggest that II² 799 is one of his earlier pieces, say prior to the year 250.⁴⁷ Four other fragments on this ground, then, do not belong before 250: namely, II² 798, which probably had a modified perfect design; II² 857, which certainly had it; Agora I 23 (*Agora* XVI no. 204), which (spacing reveals) had the full perfect design;⁴⁸ and I 1679 (*Agora* XV no. 116), which also had it.

This cutter has another notable mannerism: he exhibits a marked preference for inscribing the letters of his texts in a *stoichedon* pattern.⁴⁹ In marked contrast to the I 3238 Cutter, he usually gave iota a full space in his *stoichedon* texts and was clearly not bothered by doing so. He crowds in iota only rarely.⁵⁰ Even his non-*stoichedon* texts, namely IG II² 682, 693, 788, 798, 845, 857, 879, 1304b, *Agora* I 131, and I 1999 (*Agora* XV no. 100), tend to have groups of lines that have their letters more or less exactly under one another. That is, even in these cases the influence of *stoichedon* is strong.⁵¹ When he has a long text to inscribe, he sometimes begins using the *stoichedon* pattern and then drops the arrangement after some lines. See, for example, the ephebic inscription IG II² 766, which is *stoichedon* for the first 7 lines, and the prytany inscription II² 790, which is *stoichedon* for the first 17 lines.⁵²

If he had a very long text to inscribe, he might well cut it all non-

46. See Appendix One for Osborne's placement of him in 256/5.

47. However, B. D. Meritt's placement of it in the year of Theophemos (246/5) could be correct; see *The Athenian Year* (Berkeley 1961) 142.

48. Tracy, "Two Attic Letter-Cutters" 321.

49. IG II² 799 and 828, both marked in the corpus as not *stoichedon*, are inscribed *stoichedon*.

50. Examples are IG II² 680 line 10, 791 line 19, 799 line 5, and 1297 line 20.

51. See R. P. Austin's discussion of the layout of IG II² 788 in *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions* (Oxford 1938) 103–104. He also provides a very good photograph of the entire inscription as pl. 13.

52. Other examples include IG II² 787 (*stoichedon* for at least lines 1–9), 1285 (1–12 *stoichedon*), and 1299 (1–32, 51–80 *stoichedon*).

stoichedon. The best example is IG II² 682, the well-known honorary decree for Phaidros of Sphettos.⁵³ One may suspect that two factors influenced him, namely needs of space and the time required for layout. *Stoichedon* requires that a grid pattern of some type be laid out on the surface to be inscribed. One merely needs to rule in lines to inscribe a non-*stoichedon* text. A long measure by the very length of its text takes up a large amount of surface area; the *stoichedon* arrangement adds to this problem, because, by allotting the same space to all letters, it uses the maximum amount of space for a text. It thus might naturally be modified or avoided in the case of lengthy texts.

The *stoichedon* arrangement results inevitably in widows. Our printed texts with their spaces left between words make them stand out as awkward, at least to us. The present cutter does not seem to have been much bothered by them. He certainly made no effort to avoid widows and in one case in a non-*stoichedon* text he actually used a *vacat* to create a widow.⁵⁴ His non-*stoichedon* texts, as this example suggests, do in fact reveal quite a few widows—for example, IG II² 682, 798, and 1304b. Clearly then, he did not adopt a non-*stoichedon* arrangement primarily as a means to avoid widows and achieve syllabification.⁵⁵ He obviously harbored no horror of widows nor any overwhelming need to achieve syllabification.

It is highly notable that in two texts, Agora I 5191 (*Agora* XVI no. 217) and I 6064 (*Agora* XVI no. 216), both dated to the archonship of Kydenor (245/4), he used a combination of *stoichedon* and special handling of line-ends to achieve syllabification. In Agora I 5191—the ends of the lines are lost, but the restorations appear certain—he apparently made liberal use of blank spaces to create lines which had syllabification. He employed a combination of *vacats* and frequent synizesis, i.e., crowding two letters into one *stoichos*, to create the same effect in Agora I 6064.⁵⁶ These seem to be experiments designed to reach an accommodation between *stoichedon* and syllabification. Heretofore, they had been mutually exclusive. Two other undated *stoichedon* texts, which probably belong to roughly the same time—i.e., the late 240s or after—reveal a use of blank spaces at line-end

53. Others are II² 798 and 845.

54. Agora I 1999 (*Agora* XV no. 100) lines 5–6.

55. Pressure for syllabification surely did contribute to the abandonment of *stoichedon*. On this point, see Austin, *The Stoichedon Style* 111.

56. He also did this in IG II² 790 (= *Agora* XV no. 115) of the year of Lysanias (234/3), leaving a *vacat* at the end of line 3 and crowding in a letter at the ends of lines 11 and 13.

to achieve syllabification: Agora I 1679 (Agora XV no. 116) and I 4526 (Agora XVI no. 212).⁵⁷

Finally, for most of his career the II² 788 Cutter had the habit of using rather liberal interlines. Like the I 3238 Cutter, he left an interlinear space that was usually somewhat greater than the height of the letters. Texts that have an interlinear space less than the letter-height are unusual. They are IG II² 693, 845, 879, and Agora I 131. All are non-*stoichedon* and all appear to be among his latest texts. None unfortunately is dated. It seems probable that toward the end of his career, economic pressures forced him in some cases to give up *stoichedon* and to reduce interlinear space quite dramatically.⁵⁸

57. Meritt's restoration of [τρῖτ]τῡῤ[ρχους] in line 9 of this latter text is very probably incorrect. See also on this point A. S. Henry, "Provisions for the Payment of Athenian Decrees," *ZPE* 78 (1989) 270, and now Woodhead, *Agora XVI* p. 300.

58. On the economic factors, see Austin, *The Stoichedon Style* 105–110.

Miscellanea Epigraphica

In the course of the present study, I have come across several small groups of texts that are the work of the same man. I have not devoted a separate section to each (i.e., “Cutter of *IG* or *Agora I* whatever”) because these dossiers number two or three texts at the most and none is dated precisely, i.e., by an archon date.

I

IG II² 524, 580, and *Agora I* 4988 (*Agora* XVI no. 119) are by the same hand. This workman’s lettering resembles rather closely the writing of the Cutter of *IG* II² 478 (above 56–61). Like that cutter, he usually makes rho with only a partial loop. However, his epsilons differ in that the three horizontals are almost always the same length and long, viz. as long as or longer than the vertical. Also, in contrast to the II² 478 Cutter, this man does not make xi with a central vertical.

IG II² 524 and 580 appear to be from the same monument.¹ Owing to the kindness of Ch. Kritzas, director of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, I have been able to study these two pieces at my leisure in the museum. The marble is identical; there is no join. II² 580 preserves the left side (smooth) and 524 the right (smooth). The combined text is as follows—*IG* II² 580 preserves the upper left part of the text and 524 the lower right:

1. So a handwritten note in ink by B. D. Meritt in the margin of Meritt’s copy of *IG*. He attributes the association to Eugene Schweigert.

fin. s. IV a.

STOICH. 31

- [----- τ]-
 [ὄν δῆ]μον τὸ[ν Ἀθηναίων. εἶναι δὲ καὶ πρό]-
 3 [ξε]νον αὐτὸν [καὶ εὐεργέτην καὶ ἐκγόνο]-
 [υ]ς αὐτοῦ τοῦ δήμο[υ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως ᾗ]-
 [ν] καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι φιλο[τιμῶνται εἰς τὸν δῆ]-
 6 μον εὐεργετεῖν ὅτ[ι ἂν δύνωνται ἀγαθὸ]-
 [ν εἰ]δότες ὅτι χάρ[ιτας ἀπολήψονται πα]-
 [ρὰ] τοῦ δήμου ἀξία[ς τῶν εὐεργετημάτων]
 9 [ἐπ]ιμελεῖσθαι δ[ὲ ἔάν του δέχεται τὴν βο]-
 [υλ]ήν τὴν αἰὶ βου[λεύουσας τοὺς ἑξακοσ]-
 [ίους·] καλ[έσ]αι [δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ ξ]ενί[α εἰ]-
 12 [ς τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον· ἀναγ]ράψ[αι]
 [δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνε[ι τ]-
 [ὄν γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου καὶ στ]ῆσαι ἐ[ν α]-
 15 [κροπόλει, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴ]ν τῆς σ[τή]-
 [λης δοῦναι τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δή]μου :ΔΔ: [δ]-
 [ραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφί]σματα ᾗ]-
 18 [αλισκομένων τῶι δήμωι]. vestigia coronae

See IG II² 1013 line 16, 847 line 26, 1303 line 17 as emended by A. Wilhelm² (= Moretti, *ISE* no. 31), 660 line 42, and 686 lines 17–18 for parallels for the restorations in lines 10 to 12. Of the dotted letters in line 11, only the apex of the first alpha and the top part of the left slanting stroke of the lambda are visible along the edge of the break. I retain Kirchner's dotted alpha iota, although there are now no certain traces of them preserved on the stone. The payment official points to a date before the end of the fourth century.

Agora XVI no. 119, then, very probably also dates to that time or to the early third century.³

2. AnzWien (1946) 115–127 = *Kleine Schriften* I.3, *Akademieschriften* (Leipzig 1974) 129–141.

3. M. B. Walbank in his *editio princeps* of Agora I 4988 (*Hesperia* 58 [1989] 90–91) comments, "The hand is very close to that of IG II², 484, so that a date around 303/2 B.C. is very likely." IG II² 484 is fearfully worn and only a few letters are clearly legible, not enough to speak of the hand. Finally, of the letters that can be made out, rho has a complete loop and omikron is quite large and round. Both shapes contrast sharply with the examples of these letters preserved on I 4988. Aside from being in the Greek alphabet, the handwritings on these two pieces have very little in common.

II

IG II² 643 and Agora I 4812 (Agora XVI no. 162; Osborne, *Naturalization* no. D67; *Hesperia* 9 [1940] 80–82 for photographs of both),⁴ IG II² 748, and Agora I 6844 (Agora XVI no. 163) have the same plain and firm writing. In addition, Agora I 6844 has the same checker pattern, line length, and gray marble as the pieces published as *Agora XVI* no. 162. M. B. Walbank has twice sought to bring these three fragments together.⁵ The marble of IG II² 748 is also gray and the letters are arranged *stoichedon*. However, larger letters and different spacing ensure that it is not part of the same monument as one or more of the others; rather, it is a separate text. The *ex-etastes* and *trittuarchoi* are the payment officials of IG II² 643, the lower part of the text published as *Agora XVI* no. 162, thus assuring a date for it between 300 and 295.⁶

III

Agora I 828 and I 1280 (*Agora XV* no. 91; photograph on p. 54 of S. Dow, *Prytaneis: A Study of the Inscriptions Honoring the Athenian Councillors*, *Hesperia Suppl.* 1 [Princeton 1937]) and IG II² 1253 share the same rather elegant handwriting.⁷ The strokes are thin and many curve, particularly those of alpha, kappa, nu, and upsilon. Their editors dated the former “*med. saec. III a.*” and the latter “*post med. s. IV.*” The *tamias* honored by *Agora XV* no. 91, *Ἐπίχαρμος Καλλιστρατίδου Κολωνῆθεν*, is probably the same man who is attested as a speaker both from IG II² 650 of the year of Diokles (286/5) and again from IG II² 685 at the close of Philokrates’ year (276/5). If so, this points to a date in the first half of the third century for these two inscriptions.

In addition, since the two decrees that Epicharmos proposed are probou-

4. J. D. Morgan will show in a forthcoming study that there is good reason to disassociate these two fragmentary inscriptions.

5. *ZPE* 69 (1987) 261–265 (= *SEG* 37 no. 90) and *BSA* 85 (1990) 447 (= *SEG* 40 no. 86). J. Treheux, *Bull. ép.* (1990) 392 (= *SEG* 39 no. 112), questions rightly Walbank’s attempt to offer a full text before bringing the stones together. This has since been done with the two *Agora* fragments, I 4812 and I 6844, and there is no join. A possible join between I 6844 and IG II² 643 has yet to be tried.

6. A. S. Henry, “Provisions for the Payment of Athenian Decrees,” *ZPE* 78 (1989) 247–295, esp. 267–270.

7. Kirchner also notes in *IG* that the letters of IG II² 1253 are similar to those of IG II² 1252; they are not, however, the same writing. The lettering of IG II² 1252 is carelessly made and basic shapes such as nu and phi differ.

leumatic ones, he will then be yet another person who served thrice in the *boule*. The other two known cases belong to the time of Antigonos Gonatas' control of Athens in the aftermath of the Chremonidean War (above 23). It appears likely, therefore, that Epicharmos too served as councillor for the third time when the rules limiting service were relaxed under Antigonos. In any event, it would have been natural for him to have served as *tamias* of the *prytaneis*, their most important official, toward the end of his career. We should thus, it appears, date *Agora* XV no. 91 to one of the years soon after 263/2.

Conclusion: Inscribers of the Years 300 to 229 B.C.

The two most prolific cutters at work during the years 300 to 229 B.C. were the Agora I 3238 Cutter and the *IG II*² 788 Cutter. Their careers overlap beginning about the year 260. For about fifteen years—that is, down to about the year 245—they exercised a virtual monopoly in Athens over the inscribing of long measures on stone. To illustrate the point, I provide here a checklist of forty decrees assigned to this fifteen-year period by J. Kirchner in *Inscriptiones Graecae* II, 2d ed. (nos. 765 to 804).

*IG II*²

765	² 788 Cutter
766	² 788 Cutter
767 ¹	worn, unfamiliar
768 + 802	² 788 Cutter
769 + 44 ¹	² 788 Cutter
770	² 788 Cutter
771	identical with <i>IG II</i> ² 122 (addendum p. 667)
772	I 3238 Cutter (268/7)
773	dates to 275/4
774	<i>IG II</i> ² 776 Cutter
775 + 803	Agora I 6664 Cutter

1. I have not seen this inscription. Although Kirchner describes it (*IG ad loc.*) as *In museo nat.*, the inventory at the Epigraphical Museum has no record of it. There exists, however, in the archives of *Inscriptiones Graecae* in Berlin a squeeze that I have been able to consult.

776	IG II ² 776 Cutter
777	I 3238 Cutter
778	² 788 Cutter
779	² 788 Cutter
780	I 3238 Cutter
781	² 788 Cutter
782	I 3238 Cutter
783	dates to the year 164/3 ²
784	I 3238 Cutter
785	dates to the second century, probably 184/3 ³
786	dates after 229 ⁴
787	² 788 Cutter
788	² 788 Cutter
789	dates to about the year 190 B.C. ⁵
790	² 788 Cutter
791	² 788 Cutter
792	I 3238 Cutter
793	² 788 Cutter
794	dates to the year of Hagnias (216/5)
795	² 788 Cutter
796	dates to 305/4
797	dates to 305/4; ⁶ II ² 689 Cutter
798	² 788 Cutter
799	² 788 Cutter
800	dates to the fourth century B.C. ⁷
801	I 3238 Cutter
802	part of II ² 768

2. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 3 (1934) 29–31.

3. This text belongs to the year of Charikles; for his date see D. M. Lewis, "The Archon Charikles," *Horos* 6 (1988) 19–20.

4. See also *ALC* 46.

5. *ALC* 71, 73.

6. IG II² 796 and 797 are now known to have been enacted during the year of Euxenippos (305/4); see B. D. Meritt, "The Seventh Metonic Cycle," *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 201–203.

7. S. Dow, "The Preambles of Athenian Decrees Containing Lists of Symproedroi," *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 358–363.

803	part of II ² 775
804 + 718	I 3238 Cutter

Two of these measures, *IG* II² 802 and 803, make physical joins with others in this group; eleven others—namely, *IG* II² 771, 772, 773, 783, 785, 786, 789, 794, 796, 797, and 800—are now known to date outside the period. This leaves twenty-seven inscriptions, twenty-three of which were inscribed by these two men, sixteen by the II² 788 Cutter and seven by the I 3238 Cutter. Their dominance and importance is obvious.⁸ And, judging by the evidence of other periods, dominance to this extent seems rather unusual.⁹ How it came to pass is not at first glance clear.

It will be helpful to provide here some general background on inscribing during the years immediately prior to the period covered by the present study. The careers of inscribers certainly suffered during the years 317 to 307 under Demetrios of Phaleron, when very few measures passed by the state were inscribed on stone. Even so, several cutters managed to work across this ten-year period and one to pick up a career that most probably had been interrupted by it.¹⁰ The self-styled democracy of the years 307 and following made it a matter of policy to inscribe many measures on stone. The leaders of the assembly, among them Stratokles of Diomeia, used this policy as one way of proclaiming the difference between their regime and that of their predecessor, Demetrios of Phaleron.¹¹ There was thus a great surge of inscribing at the end of the fourth century and quite a number of cutters can be documented as active during the years from 307 to 300. They are the Cutters of *IG* II² 1262, II² 498, II² 650, II² 495,¹² and (from the present study) those of *IG* II² 478, II² 657, II² 689.

The Cutter of Agora I 4266 did inscribe one text, *IG* II² 1263, that can certainly be dated to the year 300, but he clearly did most of his work in the first thirty years of the third century. Of the others, both the *IG* II² 1262 and II² 650 Cutters worked well into the third century, the former down to about the year 290 and the latter to close to 280. Another cutter who did quite a lot of work, the *IG* II² 657 Cutter, was also active for about three decades from approximately the year 305 to 275. These four, namely, the

8. Their dossiers now number 81 (I 3238 Cutter) and 65 (II² 788 Cutter) separate inscriptions.

9. There were, of course, other major cutters—see *ALC* 223–226 and the chart on p. 224—but no others dominated to such a degree.

10. See *ADT* 39 and n. 20.

11. On this, see *ADT* 40 n. 21 and Ch. Habicht, *Athens* 71–72.

12. On them, see *ADT* 136–163.

Cutters of Agora I 4266, IG II² 1262, IG II² 650, and IG II² 657, in terms of numbers of inscriptions were clearly major cutters. The number of inscriptions that so far have been attributed to each is, respectively, 19, 53, 18, and 18.

The workman who was to emerge as the most prolific letterer of the whole period, the I 3238 Cutter, began work about 285. The II² 1262 Cutter had stopped working not long before, perhaps five years earlier. In the next fifteen years there were a succession of retirements: the II² 650 Cutter around the year 280, the II² 657 about 275, and the Agora I 4266 around 270. The II² 689 Cutter did some work during these years, but he was, to judge from the few inscriptions from his hand that have survived, a minor figure who in any case apparently stopped work about the year 270. As these men retired, it seems apparent that the I 3238 Cutter took up much of the slack. Only the Agora I 6664 Cutter, who began inscribing about the year 280 and is known to have inscribed sixteen texts over the next four decades, provided any competition.

No other truly major cutter emerged until the late 260s or early 250s, when the II² 788 Cutter began work. The longevity and productivity of the I 3238 Cutter, combined with the emergence of the II² 788 Cutter, effectively made it very difficult for others to secure much work. The present study has identified some other cutters,¹³ but I think it unlikely that another major cutter will be found inscribing decrees of the state in this period. Indeed, this study has confirmed the dominance of these two.

There is no need to see political implications in this. Indeed, it would be quite awkward to do so. Although the I 3238 Cutter began his career very soon after the renewed independence of his city in 287 B.C., he also flourished, as did the II² 788 Cutter, in the years of Macedonian control after the Chremonidean War. The political leanings or affiliations of these two workmen, whatever they may have been, did not secure them work. They dominated, it appears clear to me, because they were outstanding craftsmen who produced superior-looking inscriptions. Others clearly did this as well—for example, the Cutter of IG II² 650. He often inscribed texts with letters 0.007 m in height or larger, usually employed a strict *stoichedon* arrangement, and always left an interlinear space as large or larger than the height of the letters. His texts, in consequence, take up a large amount of space, particularly vertical space. They were often quite imposing and, one may imagine, also rather expensive. Other cutters working at roughly this same

13. See the Cutters of IG II² 776, of SEG II no. 9 (both active *ca.* 250 or a bit earlier to *ca.* 240), and *Miscellanea Epigraphica* above.

time—namely, the IG II² 1262 Cutter, the II² 689 Cutter, the Agora I 4266 Cutter, and the II² 657 Cutter, all active in the first thirty years of the third century—likewise tended to use fairly large letters for decrees, 0.006–0.007 m, and to dispose them in a *stoichedon* pattern, but they used slightly smaller interlines, i.e., equal to or slightly less than the letter-height.

By about the year 285 the I 4266 Cutter had begun to inscribe some of his texts near or non-*stoichedon* and to seek in these cases syllabification.¹⁴ Likewise, the II² 657 Cutter (*ca.* 290) quite frequently (specifically, about half the time) inscribed texts non-*stoichedon* with syllabification. The I 6664 Cutter (281/0–*ca.* 240) carried the trend further by making adjustments at line-ends so as to nearly always achieve syllabification. The II² 776 Cutter (*ca.* 250) opted for syllabification and did not, so far as our meager evidence allows us to see, use *stoichedon* at all. If we look just at these cutters, there appears to have been a gradual but steady move away from *stoichedon* and toward better word division at line-end as the century progressed. Except for the considerable output of the I 3238 Cutter and the II² 788 Cutter, *stoichedon* had *in fact* gone out of regular use by midcentury.

The I 3238 Cutter was, it is apparent, the maverick. He did not follow the usual practices, but went his own way in the use or non-use of *stoichedon* and in matters of letter size, spacing, etc. (see figs. 52 and 53). His most important innovation was to reduce quite dramatically the size of the lettering. He often inscribed decrees with a letter-height of 0.005 m. Such letters are the smallest possible that are still easily legible. He could, therefore, save space and use smaller blocks of marble for his texts. He took care to incise letters that are neat and well made. He also gave unusual attention to refinements that made his small lettering easy to read. He spaced his letters out on the horizontal approximating, but not often actually using, a *stoichedon* arrangement. He also left a large interline, normally equal to the height of the letters or a bit more. Most striking and in contrast to all other cutters of the period, he employed blank spaces frequently to mark off proper names and clauses within decrees. At the same time, he paid no particular attention to syllabification. Indeed, he never achieved it for the entirety of any of his preserved texts.¹⁵

He was, at the same time, a very careful workman who devised a way to cut decrees at optimum speed. He did this by reducing layout to the bare minimum, putting in horizontal and vertical guidelines as needed, and

14. See, e.g., IG II² 653, *ArchDelt* 18A (1963) 103–105, and Agora I 7587 (*Hesperia* 65 [1996] 252–258).

15. See above 94–98 for more on his habits of inscribing.

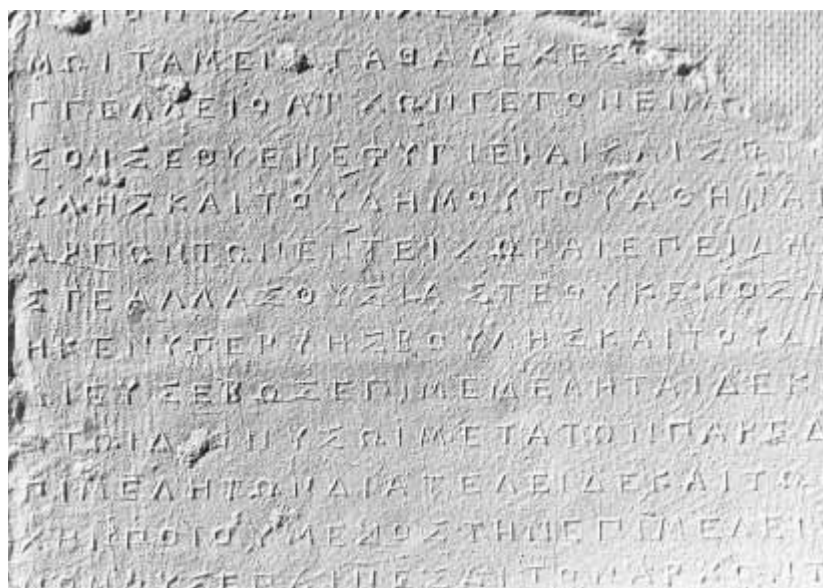


Figure 52. IG II² 668 lines 4–17.

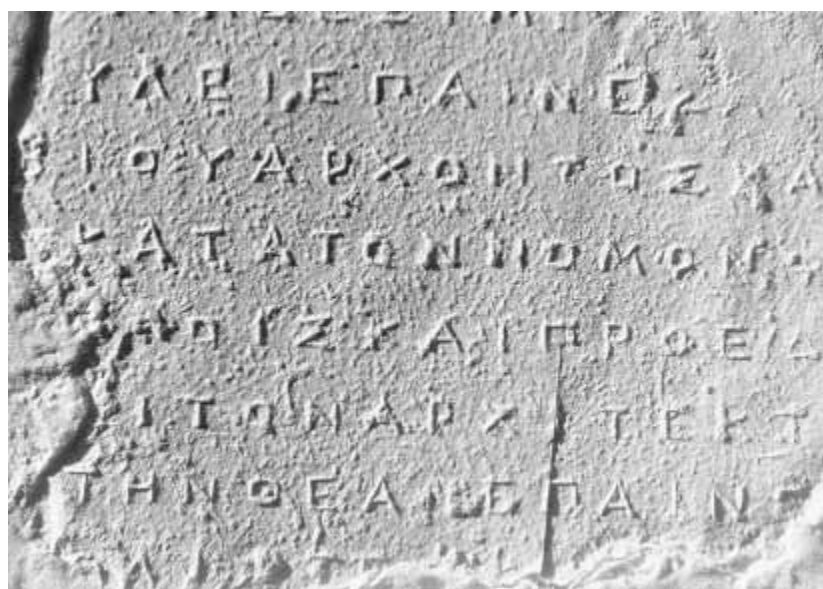


Figure 53. IG II² 792 lines 4–10.

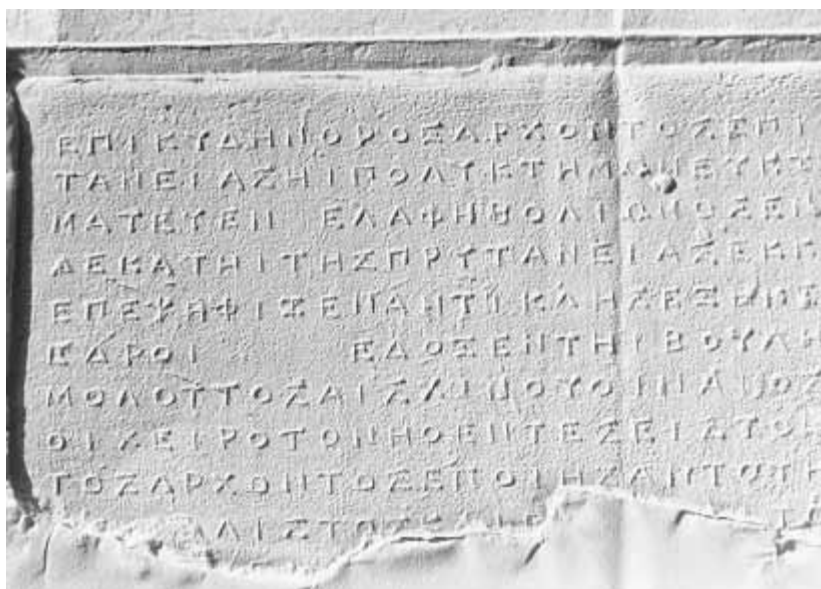


Figure 54. Agora I 6064 = Agora XVI no. 216.

then cutting. Since he was not concerned with word division at line-end, he had no need to spend time planning the end of each line. He could simply keep cutting at a steady pace, whether he was inscribing the letters *stoichedon*, near *stoichedon*, or non-*stoichedon*. His mannerism of inscribing omikron, rho, and phi with straight strokes also must have contributed considerably to the speed of his inscribing, for it allowed him to use a stem-cutting technique for these round letters.¹⁶

The II² 788 cutter followed him substantially in these practices, particularly small letter size, large interlines, frequent blank spaces, and little interest in syllabification (see fig. 54). I suspect, in fact, that they worked in the same shop and that the II² 788 Cutter was the assistant or apprentice of the I 3238 Cutter. He was not, however, a mere copycat. The II² 788 Cutter, for example, did not employ straight strokes for his round letters, while he did have a much stronger tendency to use strict *stoichedon*. He also adopted and made his own the perfect design. Finally, in what look to be

16. On this method of cutting letter-strokes, which is faster than furrowing them, see S. Tracy, *The Lettering of an Athenian Mason*, Hesperia Suppl. 15 (Princeton 1975) 86–88.



Figure 55. IG II² 780 lines 20–33 (end of decree I and beginning of decree II).

a few experimental cases toward the end of his career, he left spaces or crowded at line-end to create better word division.

Interestingly, we have an instance where they inscribed decrees passed at the same meeting, a session of the assembly held in the theater of Dionysos on the 23rd day of the ninth prytany during the archonship of Thersilochos (251/0). The measures involved, IG II² 780 (II) and II² 781, both honored men for their acts of piety toward the god Dionysos. The I 3238 Cutter inscribed the second decree of II² 780 (fig. 55), while the II² 788 Cutter produced II² 781 (fig. 56). It might at first seem surprising that the younger man was given the easier job. The first job, after all, required that the cutter add text below an inscription already set up in the precinct of Dionysos; the latter could be done in what one must assume was the relative comfort of the shop. Of course, neither task would have been difficult for experienced cutters such as these two. What perhaps determined the choice of assignment was the sensitivity of both of these cutters to the appearance of their inscriptions. The I 3238 Cutter had already inscribed, two years earlier, decree I on II² 780; it clearly made sense for him to cut the

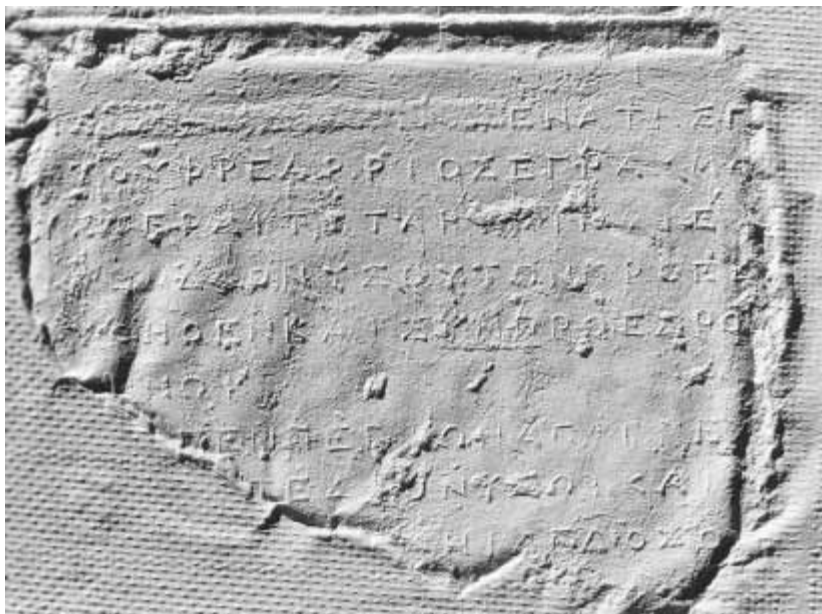


Figure 56. IG II² 781.

second decree as well. And this he did, even if it was the harder of the two jobs. He left vertical space for an interline and a line of text and then added decree II using the same size lettering and spacing as decree I. The result is an inscription that looks completely uniform (fig. 55) and that, I believe, is exactly what was intended.

When the II² 788 Cutter stopped working is unclear. His last dated text belongs to the year 234/3. There is still no indisputable case of a cutter who worked across the change of government that occurred in 229.¹⁷ The II² 788 Cutter, however, surely worked down to nearly 229 if not beyond. Howsoever that may be, his influence certainly continued, because the first major cutter of the years after 229, the Cutter of IG II² 1706, was his apprentice.¹⁸ Not only did this cutter make many of his letters in the same way,¹⁹ he followed his master and the I 3238 Cutter in other characteristic mannerisms. He used, as they had, small letters, *ca.* 0.005 m in height, and left large

17. *ALC* 1.

18. *ALC* 53, 230–231. For a description of his lettering and full list of inscriptions, see *ALC* 44–54.

19. For the details, see *ALC* 230–231.

interlines, as large or larger than the height of the letters. He left blank spaces much less frequently than they had done, but did use them to set off visually major parts of his texts and proper names.²⁰ Lastly, he followed his mentor, the II² 788 Cutter, in adopting with regularity his signature arrangement, the perfect design.²¹ See the photographs of parts of two of his inscriptions, IG II² 794 and II² 833, that are illustrated in figures 57 and 58. These three major cutters are very closely related on stylistic grounds and probably all worked out of the same shop; their working careers spanned the years 285 to about 203 B.C.

20. See, for a representative example, the spaces left in lines 33, 36, 43, 44, and 51 of IG II² 847.

21. IG II² 833, 839, 846, 847, 852, 917, *Agora* XV no. 165, and *Agora* XVI nos. 222 and 224 all either certainly or very probably made use of the perfect design. IG II² 794 probably had a modified version of the design.

APPENDIX ONE

Athenian Archons from 261/0 to 234/3

The archon list for these years is extremely uncertain and difficult to establish. For convenience of reference, I offer below the list that I have used. It is lacunose and largely an amalgam based on work by others, particularly by Christian Habicht, John Morgan, François Lefèvre, Michael Osborne [MJO1, MJO2], and George Steinhauer [GS].¹ I harbor no illusion that it is more than approximately correct. That is, I hope that the archons are in the correct order and, for the most part, in the correct decade.

SEG II no. 9 provides the most secure sequence of archons that we possess from this period. It enables us to establish with more or less certainty the list from Polyeuktos to Eurykleides (above 121–124). In addition, the ephebes of Thersilochos' year were honored in Polyeuktos' year.² Thersilochos should thus be the immediate predecessor of Polyeuktos. Kallimedes, whose secretary belongs to tribe IV, is best placed (it seems) with a year intervening before Thersilochos, Polyeuktos, and Hieron, whose secretaries hail from tribes VI, VII, and VIII. G. Nachtergaele in restudying IG II² 680 in his book on the Galatians reached the conclusion that Polyeuktos was ar-

1. Habicht, *Untersuchungen* 128–146 (= SEG 29 no. 289); Morgan, abstract of "Polyeuktos, the Soteria, and the Chronology of Athens and Delphi in the Mid-Third Century B.C.," *AJA* 102 (1998) 389; Lefèvre, "Chronologie attique et chronologie delphique," *Topoi* 8 (1998) 173–185; Osborne, "The Chronology of Athens in the Mid Third Century B.C.," *ZPE* 78 (1989) 241 [MJO1], and "Philinos and the Athenian Archons of the 250s B.C.," *Polis and Politics: Studies in Ancient Greek History Presented to M. H. Hansen*, ed. P. Flensted-Jensen, T. H. Nielsen, and L. Rubinstein (Copenhagen 2000) 507–520 [MJO2]; Steinhauer, "Νεότερα στοιχεία για τὸν σαλαμίνιο θίασο τῆς Βενδίδος," *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς* 1993 [1995] 47.

2. *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 121ff. no. 24.

chon during the year 246/5.³ Habicht and most others accepted this and accordingly dated these archons associated with him as follows:

249/8	Kallimedes
248/7	
247/6	Thersilochos
246/5	Polyeuktos
245/4	Hieron
244/3	Diomedon
243/2	Philoneos
242/1	Theophemos
241/0	Kydenor
240/39	Eurykleides

These dates appeared to be fairly certain until news surfaced in 1995 that an as yet unpublished inscription from Rhamnous revealed that the fortress there was attacked by troops of Alexander, son of Krateros, when Diomedon was archon.⁴ Since Alexander was very probably dead by the year 244/3,⁵ the year of Diomedon on Habicht's and Nachtergaele's scheme, the conclusion had to be that the dates of these archons were to be placed at least a year or more earlier. Morgan, based on his work on the Athenian calendar and his observation that the Athenians adhered quite strictly to the Metonic cycle of intercalation, has recently argued that Polyeuktos' archonship must be placed either in 247/6 or 250/49. He favors the year 250/49 and is supported in this by Lefèvre's study of Delphic chronology.

I adopt 250/49 as the date of Polyeuktos here very hesitantly, since most of the primary evidence, as well as the argumentation, remains unpublished. This then gives us for this related group the following dates:

253/2	Kallimedes
252/1	
251/0	Thersilochos
250/49	Polyeuktos
249/8	Hieron

3. *Les Galates en Grèce et les Sotéria de Delphes* (Brussels 1977) 209–241, esp. 234.

4. D. Knoepfler, "Cités eubéenes et chronologie delphique," *BCH* 119 (1995) 158. This inscription does not appear in Petrakos, *Rhamnous* II.

5. Habicht, *Athens* 163.

248/7	Diomedon
247/6	Philoneos
246/5	Theophemos
245/4	Kydenor
244/3	Eurykleides

A working list of archons for the years 261/0 to 234/3, tentative in the extreme, but the one I have used in the preceding pages, is

261/0	
260/59	Philostratos [MJO ₂]
259/8	Philinos [MJO ₂]
258/7	Antiphon [MJO ₂]
257/6	Thymochares [MJO ₂] ⁶
256/5	Antimachos [MJO ₂] ⁷
255/4	Kleomachos [MJO ₂]
254/3	Phanostratos [MJO ₂]
253/2	Kallimedes
252/1	Pheidostratos [MJO ₂]
251/0	Thersilochos
250/49	Polyeuktos
249/8	Hieron
248/7	Diomedon
247/6	Philoneos
246/5	Theophemos
245/4	Kydenor
244/3	
243/2	Eurykleides ⁸
242/1	

6. Presuming that Meritt (*Hesperia* 7 [1938] 110) was correct to associate Agora I 2054, a list of ephebes of Antiphon's year, with the ephebic inscription IG II² 700 enacted during Thymochares' archonship, we can link the archons Antiphon and Thymochares. See *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 110–114 no. 20 for the complete text. The dimensions and lettering suggest that the association is a good one, but I have not brought the stones together and scrutinized them.

7. On his date, see above 146–147.

8. For the textual and spacing peculiarities in SEG II no. 9 which suggest that a year may have intervened between Kydenor and Eurykleides, see above 123.

241/0	
240/39	
239/8	
238/7	Athenodoros [GS]
237/6	Lysias [GS]
236/5	Kimon [MJO1]
235/4	Ekphantos [MJO1]
234/3	Lysanias [MJO1]

The archons Alkibiades, Diogeiton, Euboulos, Lykeas, Lysiades, Phano-machos, and Polystratos also with some probability held office during these years. Aristion should be dated to about the year 290 (above 38–45); Am-brosios probably dates between the years 270 and 250 (above 45). Mnesei-des apparently held office during the 230s.

APPENDIX TWO

Agora I 5392 + 3855: A Prytany Decree from ca. 275–270 B.C.

In 1954, B. D. Meritt published Agora I 3855, a fragment from the upper right corner of a prytany decree inscribed on Hymettian marble, which had been found in the Agora excavations on 28 March 1936 in a Byzantine context in the area (R-S 17) southeast of the Market Square.¹ In 1974 this text was republished by Meritt and J. S. Traill as *Agora* XV no. 79, with the substitution of τῶν ἱερῶν for παρ' αὐτῶν, which Meritt had originally restored in line 7. The text of *Agora* XV no. 79 is repeated on the page that follows.

In 1982 Ch. Habicht² suggested that this decree's proposer, whose demotic was [Θυ]μαιτάδης, could have been Φίλιππος Ἀστυγένου Θυμαιτάδης, who is otherwise known from *IG* II² 2797 as one of three recipients of honors for having "advised the best" during Telokles' archonship (probably 289/8), and as the proposer of the first decree on *IG* II² 672, which Meritt dated to 277/6 B.C., but probably belongs several years later in 269/8 B.C.³

In an article published in 1988 on two prolific letter-cutters active in the middle of the third century B.C., Tracy identified this decree as the work of his letter-cutter of Agora I 3238 and 4169.⁴ Another small fragment of a

1. *Hesperia* 23 (1954) 233–234.

2. Habicht, *Studien* 201–202.

3. B. D. Meritt, "Athenian Archons 347/6–48/7 B.C.," *Historia* 26, 1977, 173; on the later date, see J. D. Morgan, forthcoming.

4. S. V. Tracy, "Two Attic Letter Cutters of the Third Century: 286/5–235/4 B.C.," *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 303–322, particularly 304–311 on the cutter of Agora I 3238 and 4169. The decree was first published by M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 444–448 (2), and is now republished as *Agora* XVI no. 194.

ca. a. 273 a.

almost STOICH. ca. 57

lacuna

[-----]
[-----]της [.¹²]
[-----] τῆς πρυτανε]ίας· ἐκκλη[σία κυρία· ^v
[τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν^{ca. 18} Φα]ληρεὺς καὶ [σ]υ[μπρό· ^v
5 [εδροι· ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ·^{ca. 19} Θυ]μαιτάδης [εἶπεν· ὑπέρ]
[ῶν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς^{ca. 7} . . . ἰδ]ος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερ[ῶν ὧν]
[ἔθνον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Προστατηρίῳ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν] ὧν ἔθυσαν ὑπὲρ τ[ῆς ^v
[βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου· τύχει ἀγαθεὶ δεδόχθαι τῷ] δήμῳ· τὰ μὲν ἀγαθ[ὰ δέ]
[χεσθαι τὰ γεγονότα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθνον ἐφ' ὑγιε]ῖαι καὶ σωτηρία[ι ^{vv}
10 [τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων] ὅσοι εὐνους εἰ[σι ^v
[τῷ δήμῳ· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς^{ca. 7} . . . ἰδος ἔθυσαν τάς] τε θυσί[ας ^{vv}
[τὰς καθηκούσας-----]

lacuna

ca. a. 250–240 a.

non-STOICH. ca. 53–55

[ἐπὶ-----ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς-----πρυτανείας ἦι]
[----- ἔγραμ]μάτε[υεν,-----]
[-----τῇ]ς πρυτ[ανείας. ἐκκλησία. τῶμ προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν]
[-----]κλ[ε]ίδο[υς [----- καὶ συμπρόεδροι. ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμῳι.]
5 [----- ογ]ένους [----- εἶπεν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ]

non-STOICH. ca. 75–77

[πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἰπ]ποθων[τίδος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν ὧν ἔθνον τὰ πρὸ τῶν ἐκκλησίων Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Προστ]-
[ατηρίῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλ]ων θυσ[ίων ὧν ἐποιήσαντο τοῖς θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν]
[ἀγαθεὶ τύχει· δεδό]χθαι τ[ῶι δήμῳι τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι ἃ ἀποφαίνουσι γεγονέναι ἐν τοῖ]-
[ς ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθνο]ν ἐφ' ὃ[γ]ιγίαι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ πρυτάνεις τ]-
10 <[ὰς τε θυσίας ἔθυσαν πάσας ὅσαι καθήκον καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐπιμεμέλῃνται ἀπάντων]>
[ἐν τεῖ πρυτανείᾳ] ὧν α[ὐτοῖς προσέταττον οἳ τε νόμοι καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου, ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς]
[πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἰππ]οθ[ωντίδος σπουδῆς ἔνεκα καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς φυλέτας καὶ στεφανῶσαι]
[χρυσῶι στεφάνῳι κ]α[τὰ τὸν νόμον· κτλ.-----]

prytany decree, which had not yet been published when Tracy attributed it in the same article to this letter-cutter, was subsequently published by M. B. Walbank (*Hesperia* 58 [1989] 97) with the restorations shown on page 171.

Walbank's restored text presents two gross anomalies. He posits the omission of an entire line, which is the sort of thing which ought to be restored not in the first but in the last instance, after all reasonable alternatives have been eliminated. Walbank further posits an abrupt increase in the number of letters per line, which he tries to defend by appealing to what he claims is a similar phenomenon on *Agora* XV no. 87 = *IG* II² 702, which is excellently illustrated by the photograph in S. Dow's *Prytaneis: A Study of the Inscriptions Honoring the Athenian Councillors* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 1 [Princeton 1937] 64). On that stone, the lettering in lines 2–7 is about 10 percent more widely spaced than in the following lines, whereas a glance at Walbank's own photograph shows that *Agora* I 5392, though described by him as "non-stoichedon," in fact is inscribed *stoichedon*, or nearly so, and thus should have a constant or nearly constant number of letters per line.⁵

In fact, *Agora* I 5392 joins immediately to the left of *Agora* I 3855. The key to the discovery that these two stones belong together was Morgan's recognition that the preserved [--]ένους of the proposer's patronymic on *Agora* I 5392 would nicely coincide with the proposer's full name [Φίλιππος Ἀστυγένου(ς) Θυ]μαιτάδης supplemented on *Agora* I 3855 by Habicht. It was also clear from the published photographs of the two stones that their texts meshed perfectly. After the consistency of spacing on the squeezes at the Institute for Advanced Study was verified by Tracy, that the stones actually join was confirmed independently by Ronald Stroud, then Mellon Professor at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens; by John Camp, the current director of the *Agora* Excavation; and by Michael Dixon, then a graduate student supervised by Tracy. We thank all three of these scholars for their confirmation of the join. Photographs of the front and back of the conjoined stones are presented in figures 59 and 60.

5. We know of one decree inscribed *stoichedon* that shows an abrupt increase in the number of letters per line, from 23 (in lines 1–14) to 40 (lines 15 ff.): see B. H. Hill and B. D. Meritt, "An Early Athenian Decree Concerning Tribute," *Hesperia* 13 (1944) 1–15, republished as *IG* I³ 34, attributed by the editors to 448/7, but by H. B. Mattingly to 425/4 in several articles. These have been conveniently reprinted, with corrections, in *The Athenian Empire Restored: Epigraphic and Historical Studies* (Ann Arbor 1996) 8–30, 140–142, 281–287, 316–318. On this inscription, a square area in the upper right corner was left blank, presumably for a relief which never was added.



Figure 59. Join of Agora I 5392 and I 3855.



Figure 60. Join of Agora I 5392 and I 3855 from back.

Measurements made by Tracy indicate that the joined stones have a combined height of 0.205 m, a combined width of 0.24 m, and a thickness of 0.123 m.

In its preserved parts this inscription gives every appearance of having been inscribed *stoichedon*, though the letters do drift a bit in their *stoichoi*, which is characteristic of this letter-cutter (above 97–98). Since this letter-cutter never made any particular effort to achieve syllabic division on the other inscriptions in his oeuvre, one should attempt to restore this inscription with a constant number of letters in each line. A line-length of 55 letters is indicated by the formulaic restorations in lines 5–6 and 7–8. Our restored text is on the page opposite.⁶

EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

Line 1: No sure trace of any letter in this line could be discerned by Tracy on the Institute for Advanced Study squeeze or by Stroud on the stone.

Line 2: The letters read as *THΣ* by Meritt are certainly *ΓΗΛ*, as Tracy and Stroud have observed on the squeeze and on the stone, respectively.

Line 3: The right oblique stroke of *Υ* is visible, as is the bottom of the left oblique stroke of *Α*.

Line 4: The right tips of the two slanting strokes of *Κ* are visible.

Line 5: On the stone Stroud could read *Ε, Ι*, and then the left vertical of the *Π* of *ἐῖπ[εν]*.

Line 9: The letter printed as an undotted *Ν* by Walbank is certainly *Σ*. The left oblique stroke of *Υ* is visible. Since the bottom of this *stoichos* is damaged, *Χ* cannot readily be excluded on epigraphical grounds alone.

Line 10: The right horizontal stroke of *Ω* is visible.

Line 12: The apex of a letter, consistent with *Α, Δ, Λ*, or *Μ*, is visible. In the next *stoichos*, Tracy believes he *might* be able to discern on the IAS squeeze the outline of the upper curving part of an *Ω*.

SPEAKER AND DATE

Line 5: The proposer's demotic [*Θυ*]μαιτάδης indicates that he belonged to Hippothontis, the same *phyle* to which the *prytaneis* being praised belonged. It was unusual, but possible, for a decree praising and crowning

6. Morgan (forthcoming) will discuss at length the restoration of the calendar equation and other aspects of this text.

- [ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἱπποθωντίδος ἐνδεκάτης πρυτανείας, ἡ]-
 [ι ἔγραμ]μάτε[υεν· Θαρ]γῆλ[ιῶνος]
- 3 [. τῇ]ς πρυτα[νε]ίας. ἐκκλη[σία· τῶν προ]-
 [έδρων ἐπειρήφιζεν]κλ[ε]ίδο[υ Φα]ληρεὺς καὶ [σ]υ[μπρόε]-
 [δροι· ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ· Φίλιππος Ἀστνυ]ένους [Θυ]μαιτάδης εἶπ[εν· περὶ]
- 6 [ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἱπ]ποθων[τίδ]ος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερ[ῶν ὧν]
 [ἔθνον τὰ πρὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλ]λων θυσι[ῶν] ὧν ἔθυσαν ὑπὲρ τ[ῆς β]-
 [ουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου· ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ δεδό]χθαι τ[ῶν] δήμῳ· τὰ μὲν ἀγαθ[ὰ δέ]-
- 9 [χεσθαι ἃ φασιν γεγονέναι ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖ]ς ἐφ' ὅ[γιε]ῖαι καὶ σωτηρία[ι τῇ]-
 [ς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν [ἄλλων] ὅσοι εὖνους εἰ[σὶν]
 [τῷ δήμῳ· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἱππ]οθ[ωντίδος τάς] τε θυσί[ας τὰ]-
- 12 [ς καθηκούσας τεθύκασι καλῶς καὶ φιλοτί]μ[ως κτλ.]

the *prytaneis* to be proposed by a member of the same *phyle*,⁷ and who himself was actually one of the *prytaneis* being praised and crowned,⁸ as immodest as it might seem to us moderns for a man to propose a decree praising and crowning a group of men which included, first and foremost, himself. The several cases in which the same man proposed both the decree of the *demos* and the decree of the *boule* honoring the *prytaneis*⁹ strongly suggests that the proposer of a decree of the *demos* honoring the *prytaneis* was always, or at least usually, a member of the *boule* that year.¹⁰ Hence [Φίλιππος Ἀστυγ]ένους [Θυ]μαιτάδης was probably a member of the *boule* in the year in which he proposed this decree. Since IG II² 2797 shows that he also had served in the *boule* in Telokles' archonship (289/8?), his name can be added to the list of men attested as having served twice in the *boule*.¹¹

Lines 9–11: Following Meritt's lead, but with some adjustments of the lettering at the beginnings and ends of lines, we have restored ἐφ' ὅ[γινε]ται καὶ σωτηρία[ι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων] ὅσοι εὐνοὺς εἰσὶν τῶι δήμῳ. There is very similar language in lines 9–11 of Agora XV no. 78 of Glaukippos' archonship (273/2) and in lines 12–14 on no. 80 of Pytharatos' archonship (271/0). The same language also was very plausibly restored by Koehler in lines 1–3 of IG II² 690, which cannot be dated precisely because the upper part of that decree is missing; but as Koehler noted, it should belong close in time to IG II² 689.¹² Compare also the very similar wording at lines 17–19 of IG II² 661 of Menekles' archonship (267/6).

A phrase such as καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι εὐνοὺς εἰσὶν τῶι δήμῳ, which must refer to other Greek states that were well-disposed to the cur-

7. See Agora XV nos. 121 (225/4), 187 (193/2), and 194, 2d decree (178/7).

8. Προκλῆς Προκλέους Θυμαίταδης, the proposer of the decree of the *boule* on Agora XV no. 194 (178/7), is duly listed among the *prytaneis* from Hippothontis on the register of the same inscription. See also Agora XV no. 240 (140/39), where Εὐκτίμενος Εὐδήμου Εἰτειαῖος, the ταμίης and γραμματεὺς of the *prytaneis* of Antiochis, proposed both the decree of the *demos* and the decree of the *boule* praising and crowning himself and his fellow *prytaneis* of Antiochis.

9. See Agora XV nos. 100 (ca. 250), 130 (219/8), 129 (211/0), 187 (193/2), 240 (140/39), and 243 (135/4).

10. See also Agora XV no. 89, which shows that Λύανδρος Λυσιάδου Ἀναφύστιος, who proposed the decree of the *demos* praising the *prytaneis* of Aigeis in Philinos' archonship, was the ταμίης τῆς βουλῆς and hence a member of the *boule* in that year.

11. For others, see the references above 142 n. 23.

12. Perhaps of Lysitheides' year (272/1); but see above 77.

rent democratic government of the Athenians, was not used on *Agora* XV no. 71 of Euthios' archonship (283/2) nor on no. 76 of Anaxikrates' (279/8), nor on any extant prytany decree from the period after 260 B.C. (*Agora* XV nos. 84, 89, 111, 115, etc.). The absence of such a phrase from prytany decrees down to 279/8 and after *ca.* 260, its presence on other prytany decrees dated to 273/2 and 271/0 as well as other decrees datable to *ca.* 272/1 and to 267/6—this all suggests that our decree should be dated after 279/8 but before Athens' surrender to Antigonos Gonatas in Antipatros' archonship (263/2 or 262/1). It would appear then that after Antigonos Gonatas came to power in Macedonia in 277 B.C., the Athenians, who had revolted from his father Demetrios Poliorketes, felt increased anxiety for their liberty, and put increased emphasis on cultivating good relations with other Greek states.

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- no. 75 = *Agora I* 6551
- no. 77 = *Agora I* 625
- no. 79 = *Agora I* 3855
- no. 80 = *Agora I* 6259
- no. 81 = *Agora I* 5992
- no. 84 = *Agora I* 5151
- no. 86 = *Agora I* 1024
- no. 89 = *Agora I* 7043
- no. 91 = *Agora I* 828 and *I* 1280
- no. 100 = *Agora I* 1999
- no. 105 = *Agora I* 1804 + 1870
- no. 108 = *Agora I* 4871
- no. 109 = *Agora I* 1764 + 4890
- no. 110 = *Agora I* 202
- no. 111 = *Agora I* 4943
- no. 113 = *Agora I* 664
- no. 115 = *IG II²* 790
- no. 116 = *Agora I* 1679

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no. 118 = Agora I 937

no. 119 = Agora I 4988

no. 134 = Agora I 5256

no. 162 = IG II² 643 and Agora I 4812

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no. 174 = Agora I 749

no. 178 = Agora I 5657

no. 179 = Agora I 3460

no. 180 = Agora I 1524

no. 182 = Agora I 863

no. 183 = Agora I 1273

no. 184 = Agora I 6533

no. 185 = Agora I 15 + 96

no. 186 = Agora I 6696

no. 187 = Agora I 6664

no. 188 = Agora I 6096

no. 189 = Agora I 6731

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- no. 216 = Agora I 6064
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- no. 218 = Agora I 4138
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Comparatio Numerorum to SEG

by M. B. Richardson

This concordance between *SEG* and the “inscriptions assigned” that are not published in *IG* was compiled by M. B. Richardson, assistant editor of *SEG*, whose assistance I record here with great gratitude.

AGORA I	SEG		
		1273	
15	15.101	1280	part of I 828
23	38.88	1367	21.392
96	15.101	1441	30.69
131		1458	
202		1497	38.93
220		1524	
489		1533	
625		1679	
664		1764	
672		1777	part of I 1533
749		1778	part of I 1533
811	part of I 625	1804 + 1870	
818	part of I 625	1904	joins ² 792
820	part of I 625	1918	
828		1971	part of I 1533
863	25.90	1999	21.386
922	38.158	2014	part of I 1533
937		2054	21.375
1024	21.378	2455	14.81

2462	25.186	5173	
2581		5191	
3048	25.102	5256	
3238	33.117	5269	
3241		5326	
3319	21.392	5391	
3370	19.89	5392	39.132
3394		5463	39.103
3460		5466	part of ² 717
3605	14.61	5531	part of ² 790
3722	19.87	5559	23.67
3825		5592	21.371
3855	14.63	5653	21.380
3870	38.92	5657	21.359
3951	32.169	5796	32.126
4038	14.66	5972	25.141
4138	19.78	5992	21.372
4162	21.392	6064	
4169	33.117	6096	14.65
4323		6259	21.369
4330	19.131	6416	
4495		6533	21.367
4526		6551	21.364
4536	32.118	6560	16.62
4622	32.117	6664	14.64
4812	25.85	6696	16.63
4871	24.170	6704	part of I 5105
4890	joins I 1764	6731	21.370
4929	21.393	6801	38.78
4943		6844	21.362
4986		7043	
4988	39.104	7070	30.72
5069		7160	40.93
5105		7290	
5151	21.376	7308	28.63

7587	46.167	12671	38.124
ACROPOLIS MUSEUM	SEG	12699	
7358	part of ² 1534B	12736	
13371	33.115	12800	38.100
		12801	part of ² 681
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2463	38.100	12962	
3381		13405	

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